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Protestant and Catholic Civilization Compared.

THE

FUTURE OF CATHOLIC PEOPLES.

AN ESSAY CONTRASTING PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC EFFORTS FOR CIVILIZATION,

BY BARON DE HAULLEVILLE,

WITH PREFATORY NOTES BY CARDINAL MANNING, CARDINAL DECHAMPS, AND PIUS IX., AND AN APPENDIX CONTAINING NOTES FROM VARIOUS AUTHORITATIVE SOURCES.

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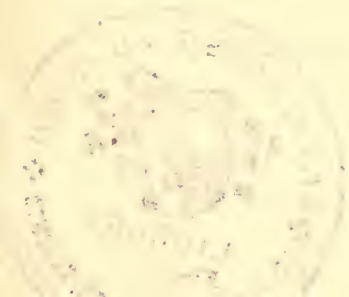

PREFACE.

BELGIUM has long been a battle ground of Europe. Nations have contended for its commanding position and have at last guaranteed its independence and neutrality, to prevent it falling a prize to their rivals. But there is no neutrality and no cessation in the eternal conflict between light and darkness, between Catholic truth and progress and anti-Catholic misrepresentation and retrogression. Hence, while the Catholic people of Belgium have, in their long peace, won nearly all the rewards which their Catholic virtues, their industry, their activity, their honesty and constant self-restraint deserved, they have had to fight, foot by foot, for the possession of the most precious of their treasures, the faith preached to them by Saint Eleutherius. The secret societies of Europe have devoted their energies to the corruption of this people and to the destruction of their faith, employing there, as elsewhere, with powerful energy, the immense power of the press to circulate errors. As may be supposed, they have not had a clear field, for Belgium is fortunate in possessing Catholic sons, of the highest talents and acquirements, and of the greatest zeal.

Among those who have already reached a foremost position in this conflict, on the side of Catholic truth, is the illustrious Baron de Haulleville, editor of the *Revue Generale*, of Brussels, and author of numerous

Catholic works of great value and erudition, who has encountered, and always with success, some of the principal literary antagonists of the Church, not alone in Belgium, but in Germany and France. One of his most useful books, is that which is given to the American public in the following pages, *The Future of Catholic Peoples.* This was a series of essays, written originally in reply to specific allegations of M. Laveleye and to the general accusations of the universal secret society press, that human progress and the Catholic Church are so far incompatible that a Catholic people must fall in the scale of nations, and that by a kind of "survival of the fittest," the great races of the present are, and in the future will continue to be, Protestant and anti-Catholic. This calumny, so opposed to history, to common sense, and even to the teaching of an Ecumenical Council and to the Divine promises, Baron de Haulleville examined with great perspicuity, and refuted with abundant facts. At the solicitation of the Primate of Belgium, Cardinal Dechamps, Archbishop of Malines, Baron de Haulleville collected these essays in a volume. Having sent a copy of this book to the editor of *The Catholic Review*, New York, early in the Centennial Year 1876, at a period when new opportunities were afforded for the contrast of the work of Catholic and non-Catholic races, on a quasi neutral soil, it was determined to translate it and reproduce it in the columns of *The Catholic Review*, for the benefit of American and English speaking readers, especially, as at that

time, through the instrumentality of Mr. Gladstone, some faint echoes of the calumnies of M. de Laveleye had reached this country. These had, however, been long familiar in other forms, and are to be met with to-day in almost every newspaper, in too many school-books, and by the reader of general literature. Subsequently, by Baron de Haulleville's permission, and by arrangement with the editor of *The Catholic Review*, its translation, enriched with notes from the *Dublin Review*, from Mr. Henry Bellingham's summary of the original, and from other sources, have been republished by the present publishers. The work has met with general approval abroad, Italian, English and German versions having been called for within a few years. Cardinal Manning, Cardinal Dechamps, and our late illustrious Pope, Pius IX., have written warmly of its merits. Meeting with thoroughness many of the sinister difficulties which are daily permeating the secular and Protestant press of America, it is believed that it will win in this country the favor which it deserves.

It contains an arsenal of facts and arguments which answer the slanderers who daily point to what they call the decrepitude of Catholic peoples. It shows that the real progress of the world has been Catholic progress, and it predicts that in the approaching great age of the world Catholic principles will prevail and rule.

Cardinal Dechamps, Archbishop of Malines, urging Baron de Haulleville to republish this book, wrote as follows:

MALINES, January 10, 1876.

"What I have read of the articles you have published in the *Revue Generale*, on the future of Catholic peo-

ples, impels me to hasten to send you my felicitations. In combating for truth you have not remained simply on the defensive; you have valiantly taken the offensive, as it is right to do when proof is clear. The highest commendation which it is possible to give to your work, is to say that it should be studied, even next to the works of Balmes on *Protestantism and Catholicity in their Relations to European Civilization.** Balmes demonstrated his thesis by a magnificent array of decisive facts, but the history of recent times has furnished you with a multitude of other brilliant deeds, which have added a new lustre to this already victorious discussion.

"Yes, the Catholic Church is the mother of European civilization, and those eyes must be closed against evidence which do not perceive that by her doctrine, by her action, by her trials, and by her labors, the Church has been and always remains the supreme agent of the moral, intellectual and social progress of the world. She instructs us, it is true, to seek, according to the words of Christ, 'above all things the Kingdom of God and His justice,' but that is because she teaches above all things the reign of justice and truth in the spirit which she manifests towards one and all of her institutions.

"You have closely examined the contrary assertions of a superficial science, you have convicted them of error, and you have done it outright, even coldly and mathematically; but you have not suppressed altogether a sentiment very rare in our day, that of a legitimate indignation, which every soul loving the truth should experience in the presence of an inexcusable error which takes haughty strides. This sentiment,

* This important work ought to be in the hands of every Catholic student. It can be ordered from Hickey & Co., publishers of *The Vatican Library*, New York (price $3.00).

indeed, has not altered in you the feeling of charity towards those who are deceiving themselves, and it has supplied you, more than once, with an eloquence which you did not seek.

"Why do you not collect all these articles in a volume by itself? They would reach so much more easily many souls seduced by the every-day sophistries of the world, which no contemporary writer has criticised more severely or successfully than you.

V. A., Cardinal Dechamps,
Archbishop of Malines."

Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster, sums up the questions described in this book, and their importance, in the following preface to Mr. Bellingham's condensed English version:

"The following pages contain a copious array of facts and arguments to refute the shallow but plausible fallacy against the Catholic faith derived from an alleged superiority in civilization attained by non-Catholic countries. The fallacy is plausible because it appeals to the lower and worldly notions of the day as to the nature of civilization. It is shallow, because it merely touches on the outside of the question. Nevertheless, it has been repeated incessantly in this century, but chiefly in this country; and it belongs by special right to the school of political economists, who for nearly a century have reduced all questions of civilization and progress to production, wealth, material development, which are supposed to constitute human progress.

The following facts are either studiously ignored or tacitly denied by this school of reasoners:

1. That the highest standard of material progress ever known before the action of Christianity upon the

world was that of Greece and Rome. But neither Greece nor Rome can bear comparison with the moral progress of the Hebrew Commonwealth.

2. That the civilization of both Greece and Rome, in their legislation, their administration of justice, their public and their private morals, can bear no comparison with the laws, tribunals, patriotism, and domestic life of the Jewish people.

3. That the moral condition of Greece and Rome, both in their public and private life, exhibits a corruption so universal and so intense as to demonstrate the inefficiency of the lights and the laws of the natural order to create and to sustain the civilization of the human race.

4. That the civilization of which we are the offspring is not the civilization of the old Greek or Roman world, which was swept away before the germs of the civilization of Europe were planted.

5. That the civilization of Europe is the creation of Christianity; that the germs of our civilization are—(1) the Christian household created by the sacrament of Christian marriage; (2) the Christian people formed by Christian education; and (3) the Christian State elevated by the higher law of Christian morals.

6. That the highest civilization, therefore, has a twofold foundation, material and moral, and a twofold progress, likewise both material and moral.

7. That the material foundation and progress which consists in the action and development of the reason and skill of men in arts, science, industry, wealth and natural prosperity, as it existed before the moral foundation of a higher life and law was laid, so it may for a time survive the loss of that higher life. Great economical and material prosperity may be found, at least for a time, when the moral life of a people is de-

clining, or even low. Material progress will continue after the moral progress has been checked, at least long enough to afford a plausible argument in favor of a non-Catholic as against a Catholic people, a province or a canton.

"Such is, in fact, the fallacy of M. de Laveleye and his followers; and such is the argument which for a century has perplexed and deceived many minds.

"The Baron de Haulleville has done good service, therefore, in treating of the future of Catholic nations. As Lord Bacon says, 'Time destroys the fictions of men, but confirms the judgments of truth.' Given time enough, and we see that the greatest material prosperity, unless supported by a higher principle, cannot endure; it carries in itself the principle of its own dissolution. Germany and France are direct examples of this truth. Mediæval Germany was a creation of Christianity. Modern Germany, since Luther, is already divided against itself. The northern half, which Comte placed as the lowest in the scale of European civilization, is precisely that half which has forfeited its Christianity. The southern half still lives on by the principle of its own creation. The material progress of France is greater than that of any country except our own. It is checked and endangered only in the measure of the decline of its moral progress; and its moral progress is checked only in the measure in which the infidel revolution of the last eighty years has checked it.

"The master fallacy of the arch-impostor is the assertion that Christianity—that is, the Catholic faith and the Catholic Church—are the obstacles to civilization and progress. Christianity, as the chaos and corruption of the Greek and Roman world demonstrate, and as modern Europe shows, is the productive and the sustaining principle of all civilization, and of all progress

in the higher culture of men and of nations. All things are preserved by the permanent action of the principle from which they spring. Christendom, or modern Europe, with all its civilization of national and international law, and with all the purities and sanctities of its domestic and private life, is the offspring of the Christian faith and of the Christian Church. European civilization will survive while it is Christian. If it ever cease to be Christian it will die out—not all at once, but stealthily, steadily, surely, under a fair countenance of seeming health. Its material progress will for a generation or two deceive many, till its moral progress has been turned backward, and its material progress has issued in the return of the Iron Age of universal armaments, mutual destruction, and the supremacy of might and matter over the moral laws of God and the higher civilization and onward progress of mankind. Donoso Cortes was mocked as a dreamer in his day, when he said, "Christian Europe is moribund. It is dying because it is poisoned. It cannot live by matter alone, and it is poisoned by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of its philosophers." We are eye-witnesses of this dissolution. Materialists and doctrinaires, sceptics and Positivists, and the schoolmen of profit and loss, tare and tret, with their ignoble and unjoyous science, have dwarfed statesmen into politicians. These are the pontiffs and the prophets who are laboring to eliminate Christianity from civilization, and to make the nations conspire against the Catholic Church, the mother of their civilization, as the enemy of their welfare and the obstacle of their progress.

"It is a sign of happy augury when we see laymen like Mr. Bellingham and the Baron de Haulleville de-

voting their intelligence and their industry to the refutation of this great deceit.

HENRY EDWARD,
Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster."

April 12, 1878.

Our late illustrious Pope, Pio Nono, of blessed memory, recognizing the utility and Catholic character of Baron de Haulleville's word, honored him with the following letter:

"*To our Beloved Son, the noble Baron de Haulleville, Brussels:*

"Beloved son, noble sir, health and Apostolic Benediction: Nothing is more noble, nor is anything more worthy of a Christian, than the zeal you evince in the service of the Church, especially in the present state of affairs, when to attack her indiscriminately leads to glory. Therefore do we rejoice that you again wish to vindicate this Mother of ours from the iniquitous and oft-repeated calumny that she is inimical to the civil prosperity and progress of the people. All history, itself, gives the lie to this accusation. The civilization of the barbarians, the subjugation of law, the formation of civil associations, the reclaiming of marshy and uncultivated districts into fields and villages, the introduction and promotion of the arts, the preservation and diffusion of the books of ancient literature, the solicitude manifested for all human necessities, all protest against this accusation, but in vain; the same accusation is constantly renewed, and the inexperienced and ignorant multitude is constantly blinded, and driven to contemn the Church.

"Therefore, although unable on account of the grave

cares of the Church to read the work on "*The Future of Catholic Peoples*," presented by you, in which you have gathered together the articles already published at different times in the *Revue Generale*, we most gladly receive it, and congratulate you for having, as you say, undertaken anew the task of refuting this obsolete calumny, repeatedly refuted by the constant and uninterupted testimony of facts. Their convincing eloquence necessarily demonstrates to a considerate mind that the Catholic Church, while instituted for the prosecution of a supernatural end, cannot but commend and foster truth and justice, establish order and refine the faculties of man; that she always was and ever will be, by her very nature, the parent and nurse of civil prosperity and true progress. Therefore does all history testify that these have flourished or languished in proportion to the many vicissitudes of religion in nations; and that religion being rejected by this one or that one, if the outward show of wealth and power does not instantly go to pieces, it is because it is sustained by some vestige of religion not yet debased. We predict, therefore, for your book that, many being awakened in it from their blindness, will be led to form a juster opinion of the Church. As a presage of the Divine favor, and as a sign of our paternal good will to you, beloved son and noble sir, we impart to you most lovingly the Apostolic Benediction.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, October 5th, 1876.

Of our Pontificate the thirty-first.

PIUS PP. IX."

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"How it was," wrote, thirty-six years ago, one of the most celebrated Protestant historians of the present century, "that Protestantism did so much, yet did no more, how it was that the Church of Rome, having lost a large part of Europe, not only ceased to lose, but actually regained nearly half of what she had lost, is certainly a most curious and important question; and on this question Professor Ranke has thrown far more light than any other person who has written on it.

"There is not, and there never was on this earth, a work of human policy so well deserving of examination as the Roman Catholic Church. The history of that Church joins together the two great ages of human civilization. No other institution is left standing which carries the mind back to the times when the smoke of sacrifice rose from the Pantheon, and when camelopards and

tigers bounded in the Flavian amphitheatre. The proudest royal houses are but of yesterday, when compared with the line of the Supreme Pontiffs. That line we trace back in an unbroken series, from the Pope who crowned Napoleon in the nineteenth century to the Pope who crowned Pepin in the eighth ; and far beyond the time of Pepin the august dynasty extends, till it is lost in the twilight of fable. The republic of Venice came next in antiquity. But the republic of Venice was modern when compared with the Papacy ; and the republic of Venice is gone, and the Papacy remains. The Papacy remains, not in decay, not a mere antique, but full of life and youthful vigor. The Catholic Church is still sending forth to the farthest ends of the world missionaries as zealous as those who landed in Kent with Augustin, and still confronting hostile kings with the same spirit with which she confronted Attila. The number of her children is greater than in any former age. Her acquisitions in the New World have more than compensated for what she has lost in the Old. Her spiritual ascendancy extends over the vast countries which lie between the plains of the Missouri and Cape Horn, countries which, a century hence, may not improbably contain a population as large as that which now inhabits Europe. The members of her communion are certainly not fewer than a hundred and fifty millions ; and it will be difficult to show that all other Christian sects united amount to a hundred and twenty millions. Nor do we see any sign which indicates that the term of her long dominion is approaching. She

saw the commencement of all the governments and of all the ecclesiastical establishments that now exist in the world ; and we feel no assurance that she is not destined to see the end of them all. She was great and respected before the Saxon had set foot on Britain, before the Frank had passed the Rhine, when Grecian eloquence still flourished at Antioch, when idols were still worshipped in the temple of Mecca. And she may still exist in undiminished vigor when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's.

"We often hear it said that the world is constantly becoming more and more enlightened, and that this enlightenment must be favorable to Protestantism, and unfavorable to Catholicism. We wish that we could think so. But we see great reason to doubt whether this be a well-founded expectation. We see that during the last two hundred and fifty years the human mind has been in the highest degree active, that it has made great advances in every branch of natural philosophy, that it has produced innumerable inventions tending to promote the convenience of life, that medicine, surgery, chemistry, engineering, have been very greatly improved, that government, police, and law have been improved, though not to so great an extent as the physical sciences. Yet we see that during these two hundred and fifty years, Protestantism has made no conquests worth speaking of. Nay, we believe that, as far as there has been a change, that change has, on the whole, been in favor of the Church of

Rome. We cannot, therefore, feel confident that the progress of knowledge will necessarily be fatal to a system which has, to say the least, stood its ground in spite of the immense progress made by the human race in knowledge since the days of Queen Elizabeth."

Is there one among my readers who is not acquainted with the author of these noble words, of which I am only the unskilful translator?* Lord Macaulay was born and died a Protestant, but his profound erudition prevented him from misrepresenting facts, and his sound knowledge carried him to a height at which faith is often to be met with, but hatred, never. Ranke's book and Lord Macaulay's essay returned to our recollection whilst we were reading a French reprint of an article lately published in a Belgian periodical by M. E. de Laveleye, Professor of Political Economy in the State University of Liege.

In the *Revue de Belgique* this article is entitled, "Protestantism and Catholicism in their Relations to the Liberty and Prosperity of Nations." Exceedingly grateful towards the author for his interesting and instructive writings on rural economy, we had already forgotten, in common with the small circle of his Belgian readers, the common-place accusations which some contemporaries of St. Augustine† and of Julian the Apostate‡ had already published in a different form,

**Critical and Historical Essays,* by Lord Macaulay; Essay on Ranke's "History of the Popes."

† See Klée's "*Histoire des Dogmes,*" p. 71.

‡ The works of the Emperor Julian, edited by E. Talbot, and published in Paris (Plon, 1863), are a fruitful mine for those who wish to examine this subject.

when we saw three translations into foreign languages of this tiny pamphlet appearing simultaneously. The Anglican, Mr. Gladstone, notorious for his errors in theology, has enriched the English translation with a letter to the author. This preface, says the *Saturday Review*, does not much enhance the merits of the work. M. Bluntschli, the German plenipotentiary at the Brussels conferences, and one of the professors of the *Protestantenverein*, a Prussian community of disunited Protestants, has written for the German edition a superficial introduction that indicates a man who understands the tastes of his readers. Finally, M. de Savornin Lohman, an orthodox Dutchman, has not hesitated for a moment to present this negation of the Catholic Church to his brethren in Holland. Since so well-known men become the god-fathers of M. de Laveleye's pamphlet, let us read it over again, and see if it deserve the honors of this questionable celebrity. The French edition, revised and corrected, *ad usum Delphini*, has been published in Paris by a few Frenchmen, under a new title: "*De l'Avenir des Peuples Catholiques.*" These few anonymous Frenchmen evidently desire to prevent their country from descending any further the inclined plane of decadence on which France is slowly but surely gliding ever since the time of Hugh Capet. This patriotism may appear extraordinary. It is not as much so as the loose preface which they have put at the head of M. de Laveleye's pamphlet. I say loose, because this preface resembles a pavement:

"M. de Laveleye's words are serious, but they are

free from party feeling, for they come from a scholar whose works are reliable guides. If he judges *Ultramontanism* with severity, declaring it to be a social danger, we must remember that it is not from sectarian animosity, for he is a Catholic; if he has pointed out with a courageous hand the weakness and faults of those who guide the helm of the State, he must not be accused of narrow-mindedness or reaction, for he is one of the most esteemed and most honored leaders of the Liberal party in Belgium. To judge men and things of the present we must know how to look for the truth in a really independent mind. That is the noble example set by M. de Laveleye. He deserves to be known, and, still more, to be imitated."

M. de Laveleye, who is endowed with estimable qualities, seems to have been led into the paths of error by a kind of despair, the result of a weakness of character or of an intellectual energy which has been unable to control itself. We would not say anything calculated to hurt the feelings of so distinguished a Belgian writer, but he so industriously uses the privilege of writing, that he will allow us to reply without evasion to his over zealous friends. M. de Laveleye's words are so deeply imbued with a partisan spirit that they possess nothing in common with science; nor is his mind more independent, for he writes under the influence of sectarian animosity. He is not a Catholic, nor is he even a Protestant; he is a Liberal. Without desiring it, perhaps, he is dependent on that haughty sect of subjective rationalists, who disdainfully admit all religions and profess none; who, if necessity re-

quires it, protect, "in the interest of the people," every imaginable form of worship, except one alone; viz., that of the Universal Church; and who, like Milton's fallen angel, hover over the ocean of religious errors, whilst casting a glance of defiance at the sun, which is the light of the world. O Sun, I hate thee!

This is M. de Laveleye's thesis in all its nakedness: The nations of Latin race are evidently on the decline; the future of the world belongs to the Germanic race, and to that of the Sclaves. The French, Spaniards and Italians, in a word, all those of Latin origin, except, perhaps, the Genevese, *ex stirpe* Carteret, and the people of Nîmes of the school of M. Reville, have become degenerate; the Prussians, Russians and, *perhaps*, the Anglo Saxons (for they are still too Catholic) are about to renew the world. How are we to explain such a phenomenon? The answer gives M. de Laveleye no more embarrassment than the question. Listen attentively: Those of Latin origin are suffering from "Cupertinage," as it has been expressed by M. Prévost-Paradol, that witty contributor to the *Journal des Débats*, who afterwards became a Bonapartist for the sake of an ambassadorship to Washington, where he committed suicide; nations which neglect their own interests are overrun with monks,* as another amiable

* These thoughts are extracted from M. de Laveleye's pamphlet. "Cupertinage" is a subtle allusion to the office of St. Joseph Cupertino, introduced into France with the Roman liturgy. There was a discussion on this subject among men of letters, in which this word played an important part, but a less important one, however, than was taken by the formidable pen of M. Louis Veuillot who administered blows to his opponents that have become proverbial in French journalism.

gentleman of the same school, M. Geruzet, expressed himself; the whole Latin race, with the exception of the Liberals of Geneva, have the Catholic *virus* in their blood. This is why it is so completely corrupted both physically and morally, and this corruption condemns it to an incurable malady. The Germanic races, on the contrary, are almost entirely Protestant. Now, Protestantism alone has the words of eternal life and the promise of immortality; this is why these races increase, prosper, become rich, and will traverse through time on the wings of religion and purity until the end of the world. The Sclave races are not spoken of with sufficient reserve; the paradox would be far too palpable, and, at the present time, would have been too offensive to the generality of M. de Laveleye's readers.

Lest I be accused of misrepresenting the Liege professor's thoughts, I will here reproduce an analysis of them from a friendly and enthusiastic pen in the *Saturday Review*, which another faithful pen has translated for the *Echo du Parlement*:

"This pamphlet has just been translated into English with a preface by Mr. Gladstone. The preface does not add much to the merit of the work, but it will help to gain it circulation in England. Independently of this assistance it would please the English, for it shows the immense superiority of Protestantism over the rival religion, and the superiority of Protestants over Catholics in the domain of riches, liberty and happiness. This is ancient history to us, but the old histories are often true and for the majority of Englishmen

it is equally true and consoling that both terrestrial and spiritual advantages are on the side of Protestantism. M. de Laveleye shows that the principal vice of Catholicism is to corrupt its adversaries and to lead them through despair to the Revolution. They rarely escape the indirect influence of the doctrine in which they have been brought up, and are as certain of their rights, as bent on crushing those who combat them, as well disposed to abuse power when they possess it, as any ecclesiastical faction. They have nothing better to offer to the world than a series of negations and a general dread of piety. But, as M. de Lavelye correctly says, man cannot live without religion. M. de Laveleye's conclusion is a very sad one. The reader will naturally imagine that all these eulogies of Protestantism, this insisting on the necessity of faith, are going to end with an exhortation to the Belgians to be converted and become Protestants. But there is not even mention of this in the pamphlet. M. de Laveleye discusses the relative merits of Protestantism and Catholicism, as he would discuss the relative magnitude of two planets. There was a time when very many Catholic countries, and especially France, might have become Protestant, but they allowed the opportunity to escape them, and, as M. de Laveleye says, they could not catch it again. Catholic countries are destined, as it appears to him, to remain for ever the prey alternately of ecclesiastical and revolutionary despotism, but they are not destined to become Protestant. In a word, they believe either too much or too little, and for that very reason Protestantism is not made for them. Protestantism is the high-road to

happiness, but it is closed against all those whose princes assumed a certain attitude in the sixteenth century. There is more truth in this mode of reasoning than Protestants themselves think, but it is impossible to determine the exact truth of this thesis, and the restrictions it implies, without entering on the domain of theology. In the sphere of politics, however, we must feel sorry for the Belgian, who, witnessing the discords that are rending his country, foresees gloomy days in store, and is penetrated with the heart-rending conviction that the only means of salvation for his compatriots has been taken away from them by the blind folly of their ancestors."

Whilst we thank the English writer for his deep interest in the moral welfare of Belgian Catholics, let us do him this justice; he thoroughly understands the "salutary" design of our charitable compatriot, who is never tired of bringing us into disrepute among foreigners. Only a year ago he sent to the *Fortnightly Review* an anti-constitutional article, entitled in the French translation, "*Le Parti Clerical en Belgique.*" It is an imaginary picture, in which the Belgian Catholics are most unfairly represented. The article is accompanied by statistics of the religious associations in Belgium, in which the figures are so arranged as to excite the brutal passions of the "vile multitude." Fourteen thousand copies of this work have been printed for "gratuitous" distribution among the members of the Liberal associations of our country.

What is the form of Protestantism which M. de Laveleye preaches, or allows himself to preach? Is it that

of Henry VIII., of Luther, of Calvin, of Zwingli, or of Knox? Is he a Quaker, a Puritan, a Presbyterian, or a Baptist? Is the God whom he positively adores that of M. Sydow of Berlin or the mountebank God of M. Guizot, judged by M. Thiers? Is the Christianity which he recommends that of Dr. Colenso or that of Dr. Bunsen; the pietism of M. de Gerlach or the Puseyism of the Anglican High Church; the liberal Protestantism of M. de Pressensé or the Protestant liberalism of M. Bluntschli; the Calvinistic State-worship of M. Carteret or the Hegelian Lutheranism of Prince Bismarck? M. de Laveleye has forgotten to tell us. This forgetfulness may be only a polemical strategy for the use of the public for whom he writes; but it shows a doctrinal weakness and a religious powerlessness which we are pleased to point out. If it suffices to reject the principle of authority to be a Christian,—that is to say, if a man is truly a Christian only outside the Roman, Catholic and Apostolic Church, pray, be good enough to recite your *Credo*, that we may have the advantage of comparing our creed with yours. The religion of the future cannot consist in a simple negation of the Catholic Church. Make your act of faith, then, in public. Will your interpretation of the Bible induce you to profess the dogma of the Incarnation of the Word and the mystery of the Holy Trinity? Do you believe in the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ? Do you admit the supernatural? How do you pray, or have you faith in prayer? Do you believe in the devil (a ridiculous question to put to a "savant")? etc., etc. M. de Laveleye's attitude permits us to assert that he has no cer-

tainty on all these great questions, and that, even if he had, he would not dare to acknowledge it, for such an avowal would immediately alienate from him nearly all his present admirers. His only readers would be MM. Gladstone, Bluntschli, De Savornin, and a few curious men of letters. In religious matters denial is not enough. What we wish to assert must be known with absolute certainty. Religion is not an abstraction. It is positive, active, aggressive, and accompanied by an external form of worship. Subjective reason can, undoubtedly, have a philosophical conception of God; but the living God of the Christians and the supernatural of the Christian doctrine are defined in Revelation. What does the independent mind of M. de Laveleye think about all that? Until he explains to us his positive religious belief, we will not believe in his sincerity, and whatever he asserts against Catholics will only be looked upon as a personal animosity, very learned and very elegant, if you will, but still an animosity, without any logical significance or scientific importance.

Instead of defending the Catholic Church against the attacks of M. de Laveleye, attacks that are as ancient as the existence of this "mother always young yet ever old," we would find it very easy to take the offensive, after the manner of the Prussians, and treat *a priori* the question in dispute. Does Protestantism in its hundred different forms, from the established Church of England and the Swedish Church down to Socinianism and the Platonic Christianity of the Liege professor, really represent the doctrine of Jesus Christ? If,

in effect, every one can freely interpret the Bible, there can, logically, be as many different religions as there are men upon earth, that is to say, that some day or other there will, perhaps, be no religion at all. The Protestant Churches are, therefore, bringing about the complete destruction of the Christian doctrine. It is for this reason that statesmen like M. Quinet, philosophers like M. Vacherot, and poets like M. Eugene Sue, have said before M. de Laveleye: "The attempt to destroy Catholicism without giving a substitute for it is not attaining its end." And these proud spirits are plotting the perversion of the Catholic masses to any one of the different forms of Protestantism, provided the latter be the accomplices of subjective Rationalism against the universal Church. This is what is commonly called retiring in order to make a better jump, or "bridging it." M. de Laveleye is not as bold as these radicals. He even appears to dissuade the Catholics from abjuration. It is said that elsewhere he has been less reserved on this subject. However this may be, in this pamphlet which we are examining, he remains a prey to a sort of despair, which would afflict us deeply, if we had not frequently seen him throw it off to howl the most unjust accusations against the coreligionists of his no doubt piously spent youth. M. de Laveleye, who has not explained to us his Protestant declaration of faith, has not theologically shown that Protestantism in its general form, inasmuch as it is a negation of the universal Church, is the supreme and infallible expression of Christian revelation. He conceals the shallowness of his positive doctrines behind a convenient negation.

A man of learning never does this, even when he becomes the disciple of Buckle.

I have, in effect, heard some admirers of M. de Laveleye's principles assert that he is one of Buckle's most brilliant disciples, whose works, I humbly confess, I I have never read in the original. If I correctly understand the analyses of the writings of this publicist that have been made in my presence, the deductive method, which is by no means new, would be their basis. I willingly admit this method in the daily practice of positive politics, but I could not admit such a principle to be the logical basis of philosophy. M. de Laveleye applies it in developing the subject under consideration, and he gives us in refutation an argument of invincible power. He explains, with a certain amount of boasting, what he calls the benefits of Protestantism, which have engendered civilizations in comparison with which the social influence of the Universal Church would appear in a sort of irremediable inferiority. This mode of argument proves nothing, for it proves too much. In effect, Athens in the time of Pericles, Carthage under the government of Hannibal, Rome in the epoch of Virgil, and Spain under the Arab Caliphs, present us with forms of civilization which, in a human point of view, are far superior in splendor to the oppressive government of Frederick I., the twelfth elector of Brandenburg and first king of Prussia, to the violent reign of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, or to the rigid rule of President Jackson of the United States. Grecian, Phenician, or Roman paganism, and even Mohammedanism would be infin-

itely superior to Protestantism on this point. The latest efforts of German philosophy have induced Herr von Hartmann, the thinker now in fashion at Berlin, to make this acknowledgement: "A relapse into paganism is one result of the philosophy which will unintentionally be that of the future." And why not? Look at Æschylus, Euripides, Sophocles, Plato, Pindar, Aristophanes, Demosthenes, Phidias, Praxiteles, the Parthenon, the Venus of Milo, the Laocoön, etc. What orators, what poets, what philosophers, what artists, what works! Do the Marches of Brandenburg, Sweden, the cities of Berne, Washington, or even the court of George I. of Hanover present us with such an assemblage of poetry, grace, intelligence, beauty and natural reason? M. Theophile Gautier preferred Aspasia to all the matrons of Protestantism. Out of every hundred readers who will approve of M. de Laveleye's pamphlet, there are not ten who will differ in their opinion from the witty pagan of Lutetia. In a human point of view, is there a Protestant country that could compare favorably with the state of Rome in the time of Julius Cæsar? But will you say that the Latins of pagan Rome had so much political, literary, and economical superiority because they were not Catholic? No, that would be absurd.

We must not make this discussion unreasonably long. Yet, before concluding our *a priori* refutation, M. de Laveleye must permit us to tell him one truth more. For the sake of argument we suppose what is not the case; we suppose that all his allegations are correct, that the different forms of Protestantism are every

where seen to be in a radiant superiority, and that the organic and fatal inferiority of Catholic communities, in a political, literary and economical point of view, is proved in his pamphlet. What will he have proved theologically ? Nothing.

> Et quand l'autel brisé que la foule abandonne
> S'écroulerait sur moi ! . . . temple que je chéris,
> Temple où j'ai tant reçu, temple où j'ai tout appris,
> J'embrasserais encore ta dernière colonne,
> Dussé-je être écrasé sous tes sacrés débris.*

M. de Laveleye, who wishes to give a lesson to the societies that have produced Charlemagne, Dante, St. Thomas Aquinas, Christopher Columbus, St. Vincent de Paul and M. de Laveleye himself, who despises them, who proclaims *ex cathedrâ* infallible decrees against the inevitable corruption of Christianity as it is practised by Catholics, is ignorant of, or has forgotten, amid the intellectual voluptuousness into which he has allowed himself to fall, the first rudiments of the Christian doctrine. Jesus Christ did not come upon earth to save *political society*, to enrich it, to teach it to read and write, to imbue it with the principles of free trade, to lead it on to the discovery of the properties of steam and electricity, or to make it acquire a taste

*For the benefit of those of our readers who do not understand French we give the following literal translation of these beautiful lines : " And when the broken altar which the multitude abandons should have fallen upon me ! . . . O temple which I love, temple in which I have received so much, temple in which I have learned everything, I would even then embrace thy last column, were I to be crushed beneath thy sacred ruins."

for belles-lettres. He was born in a stable, brought up in a workshop as a laborer, and died ignominiously on the cross for the salvation of souls. I will spare a professor of political economy the trouble of listening to a sermon on this subject; but let him open a volume of any Biblical concordance and he will find ten pages of texts precisely on this one subject. Such is the essence of the Christian doctrine: "Seek ye, therefore, first the kingdom of God and His justice and all these things shall be added unto you," says the Founder of the Church; and *all these things* have been given to all men of good will. The end and object of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ is *supernatural.* A little book which we do not study as attentively as we ought, viz., the catechism, says with its usual clearness, "Jesus Christ came to deliver us from the slavery of the devil and from eternal death."* When the soul of every citizen is saved, the States in which they dwell are also saved. There has not been, in fact, a single Catholic society for the last eighteen centuries that has fallen to ruin. Yet, should even one society, composed of faithful Catholics, dissolve, or, without being dissolved, should live on without meeting with the success which "the men of the times" desire, such an occurrence would prove nothing —absolutely nothing—against the Catholic Church; for, once more I say, that the end of the Incarnation of the Word of God is supernatural. St. Augustine, who

* St. Luke, v, 31, 32; ix, 56; xix, 10—St. Matthew, ix, 13—St. Mark, ii, 17—St. Paul, Epistle to Timothy, i, 15—St. John, x, 10; xii, 46, 47, &c.

lived in a society as refined as that in which MM. de Laveleye, Gladstone, Bluntschli, and de Savornin move, and who was as well versed in philosophy and civilization as any of the professors of modern Europe, wrote to a friend, to console him in his worldly reverses, these words which have come down through the ages as a motto for Catholics; *numquid Christianus es ut in hoc sæculo floreres?* "Have you been raised to the dignity of a Christian to succeed in this world?" This is only the paraphrase of the text of St. Luke, xvi, 8,— "The children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light." And have you ever meditated on that other formidable text of the same evangelist: "Think ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you, no; but separation. For there shall be henceforth five in one house divided; three against two, and two against three." M. de Laveleye (page 25), with an intention which we will unmask further on, complacently laughs at the pious sovereigns who were so diligent in confessing their sins (a kind of mortal seldom to be met with in the nineteenth century). But governments do not confess at all, and when they have sinned they ought to do penance here below. When a man is pious and makes a diligent and sincerely contrite confession, he does all that he ought to do to be saved for eternity, even when, during the twenty-five, fifty, or seventy-five miserable years of his life here on earth, he may have been neither learned, nor parsimonious, nor rich, nor a subscriber to the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. "For," says Ecclesiastes, "the wise man dies as well as the ignorant." Could M. de

Laveleye have convinced me of what is impossible, could he have proved as clearly as that two and two make four, that all the Catholics of the world are, in a political point of view, simpletons or fools, and that all Protestants are, without exception, transcendent politicians, eminent economists, unparalleled scholars, and that they will become millionaires, M. de Laveleye would have convinced me of this only, that, theologically, he could prove nothing, unless, perhaps, the approach of the end of time, when such events are to happen according to the prophecies. In a word, the possession and practice of Christian truth, in its ideal purity, do not, *ipso facto*, confer temporal advantages in the same degree,—a beggar can be a saint, and a nation of saints has no infallible promise of temporal felicity. M. de Laveleye's thesis is, therefore, false *a priori*.

A Christian scholar, who is a corresponding member of the Institute of France and, like M. de Laveleye, a professor of political economy, made a remark to me lately the truth of which is evident—Protestants and Liberals picture to themselves a certain ideal of human society, and they prove without any difficulty that the states modeled after their image, answer to this ideal. When Catholics accept the question as thus stated, they throw themselves into a snare with perfect good will. They should begin therefore, by determining what ought to be the true ideal of human society, as well in an economical as in a political point of view ; then show the superiority of Catholic institutions over Protestant communities, both for the defense of public

liberty, and the securing the well-being of the nation. M. de Laveleye himself has not taken the trouble to give us a logical proof of the truth of his principles. We will confine ourselves, therefore, in this place to proclaiming the superiority of our own, in accordance with the short but decisive considerations that precede, reserving to ourselves the right to strengthen this proof whenever it will be necessary to do so in the interest of the discussion.

Another stratagem of the modern Protestant and Liberal polemists in discussions of this kind is an arbitrary suppression of the differences created by nature, difference of latitude, altitude and climate, difference of manners, difference of natural genius, etc. They would cast all nations in the same mould, and, naturally, in a Liberal or Protestant mould. This conception of humanity is belied by facts ; it tends to make of the world a mortally fatiguing abode, and to reduce the human mind to a colorless and dull uniformity. When the polemists to whom I allude affect, like M. de Laveleye, not to share this error, they are guilty of another excess. They pretend to submit the " undulating and divers " nations to the tyranny of an exclusively logical rule, and they propose to man as his end upon earth the passion for comfort and the mission for hoarding up riches ; as if the great act of life did not consist in the apprenticeship of sacrifice, which is the preparation for death. I willingly acknowledge, that M. de Laveleye, as a studious and laborious man, sincerely desires to raise himself above the narrow sphere of the sordid interests of the world ; but I state here that his

political and economical doctrines, such as they are expressed in his work, do not rise above the level of the philosophy of Bentham and Adam Smith.

The reflections to which I have given expression suffice, in my own estimation, to sap the foundation of the scaffolding of M. de Laveleye's "deductive" arguments; and I could legitimately stop here, neglecting to contest the series of *facts* which he advances more or less arbitrarily, and refraining from submitting to a new discussion arguments, or, rather, accusations of which the greater part have been a hundred times refuted. It is a thing unheard of that a man who prides himself on his knowledge, that a professor who will not allow any one to suspect him of being ignorant of the "literature of his subject," as the Germans say; it is a thing unheard of, I say, that M. de Laveleye should seize on so important a question and treat it with so much bustle in thirty-two octavo pages, and boldly pass with one bound over the recent (I will not speak of the earlier) works of M. Aug. Nicholas, the Abbé Sénac, the Abbé Martin, M. Ch. Perin, Cardinal Dechamps, Manzoni, the Abbé Margotti, Döllinger (before the Council), Hettinger, Klée, Mœhler, Hergenröther, Balmés, Maguire, Dr. Newman, Cardinal Manning, &c. &c.

We do not, I repeat, accept the question as he puts it; but we are going to follow him step by step through his "deductive" evolutions, in applying to him the method which he himself makes use of. This will be for us an apologetic proof *a posteriori*.

Before undertaking this task, let me be allowed to

forewarn the reader against a false interpretation of my intentions. Until I am convinced of the contrary, I will not believe, I assert, in the Protestantism of M. de Laveleye. I hope that this frank avowal will not displease him. I am personally acquainted with, and have a profound esteem for, some pious Anglican Protestants, Calvinists, Lutherans and others. I believe in their sincerity, and pay homage to their sentiments and to the dignity of their private life. If these pages meet their eyes, and if they do me the honor of reading them, I entreat them to see in them only a proof of my desire to benefit truth; and if any expression should escape my pen which might *personally* offend either themselves or the writer to whom I am replying, I retract it beforehand. I wish to follow the precept of St. Augustine, "*Interficite errores, diligite errantes*—Deal hard with the errors, but love the erring."

CHAPTER II.

THE CAUSES OF THE CIVIL OR MATERIAL PROSPERITY OF A NATION.

Is it True that Protestant Communities Alone are "Progressing?"—Does the Phenomenon of the "Progress' of Protestant Nations Depend on Race?—The English Government is a Product of the Catholic Ages—Civil Government in other Catholic Nations before the French Revolution and the Reformation—Of the Civil Energy of the Catholic Spaniards—Comparison between the Civil Liberties of the Italians and those of the Prussians before the Reformation—*Comparison between the Social Condition of the Scotch and Irish*—The Swiss Catholics.

"Sectarian passions or anti-religious prejudices," says M. de Laveleye, "are too often introduced into the study of these questions. It is time to apply to them the method of observation and the scientific impartiality of the physiologist and the naturalist. Irrefutable conclusions will be the result of the mere statement of facts." Here is the first of these conclusions: "Catholic nations progress much less rapidly than nations that have ceased to be Catholic, and compared with the latter they appear to recede. This fact is so manifest that the bishops themselves, and the *Univers*, their organ in France, use it as a text with which to reproach unfaithful Catholics." This first "irrefutable" conclusion is not expressed very clearly. In the first place what is progress, a word that does not exist, even in the political language of the Anglo-Saxons? The English, the most political people in

Europe, never speak of progress; they only apply themselves to the realization of improvements. What does "recede" mean? When I hear M. de Laveleye pronounce the eulogy of the Protestant sects, which are dissolving before our eyes, I say that M. de Laveleye *recedes;* if I were allowed to contemplate "a sovereign who goes frequently to confession," I would say: here is a sovereign who is progressing in the way of truth and happiness, whilst M. de Laveleye would loudly proclaim it to be the abomination of desolation. We should first therefore, come to an understanding about the meaning of the words. My meanings are in direct opposition to those of M. de Laveleye. But as he brings the accusation, it is his business to prove what he asserts. I do not any more clearly understand the meaning of the last expression: Do the Bishops and the *Univers* reproach infidels, that is to say, Protestants of every shade, with being too advanced, or do they complain of the faithful, who are too lukewarm for progress, for not advancing more rapidly? In either case reproach is at least singular; the Catholic bishops are not devoid of common sense. However this may be, I presume that the author wishes to prove that Catholic nations are retrogressive, that is to say, people who are not fond of political liberty. Whence comes that phenomenon? It is impossible, says M. de Laveleye, to attribute it to the accident of race; for:

"The English, it is said, know better than the French how to make use of the parliamentary regime and political liberty. Is it the influence of blood? I do not think so; for until about the sixteenth century

France, Spain and Italy had provincial liberties strongly resembling those of England. The only notable difference was that the latter had a centralized regime, and only one parliament, as an organ which showed itself strong enough to keep royalty in check. The Norman conquest having unified England, a unified parliament had to be composed, and royalty being very strong, the nobility and commons united to combat it, whilst elsewhere they were constantly at variance with each other. The destinies of France and England become entirely different only as late as the seventeenth century, when the Puritans had overcome the Stuarts, and when Louis XIV, by expelling the Reformers from France, had erased the last traces of local autonomy, and the only elements that could oppose a serious resistance to despotism."

Volumes might be written on this subject. I will content myself with answering a few summary assertions by a few summary considerations. The great misfortune of France has been, as M. de Laveleye acknowledges (page 15), that it has been governed, ever since the fourteenth century, by the Renaissance, which is in reality only the same thing as modern Liberalism. The doctrines of the French government, then represented by royalty, were liberal in principle. "French unity" is one of the principal results of this policy, which radical historians, like MM. Michelet, Quinet, Blanc, Esquiros and even H. Martin, praise in a manner so compromising to the successors of St. Louis. England, in its government, has had the happiness of preserving, even after the Reformation, all the po-

litical principles of the Catholic Middle Ages; fortunately, it obstinately resisted the introduction of the Roman law, whose royal Cæsarism inundated almost the entire continent from the beginning of the Renaissance; it has preserved the text and principles of the *Magna Charta*, under which the signature of Stephen Langton, a cardinal of the Roman Church, figures at the head of the list; it has preserved all its national traditions, all its ancient laws; but lately it referred with pride to customs of the time of Alfred the Great; it has preserved intact the interior organization of its secular government, and even the exterior form of the Roman Church. Since the Reformation, a remarkable phenomenon is every day presented to our observation: the English people ceases to be Roman Catholic, under the influence of what unworthy means is very well known, but it preserves a form of government which has remained until the present moment, throughout its whole extent, the most Catholic government in Europe; whilst the French nation, even while it continues in the generality of its members to be the eldest of Catholic nations, has not ceased, unless Louis XVI. be counted an exception, to be governed by princes and statesmen whose political doctrines are in direct antipathy to the Church of Rome. This is a point of the philosophy of history which a former editor of the *Univers*, but at present of the *Monde*, of Paris, has clearly proved in works that are not read as generally as they deserve to be. Let no one come to us, Catholics, to throw in our face as an insult the glorious history of English institutions. They are ours.

I admire them with all my heart, and I tremble with respect every time I enter that noble palace of Westminster to be present at a session of the Imperial Parliament of England, the foremost political assembly in the world. The session is presided over by a man who wears the costume of the Middle Ages: he has an almoner who recites the Christian prayers as in the time of Philip of Hainault. At the distance of two paces from his seat is the tomb of Edward the Confessor, religiously respected in its admirable primitive form. In proceeding from the church to the great hall of John Lackland we must pass by a cemetery of the fourteenth century, which the piety of the English people respects in the midst of London, and which our "progressist" ediles would soon transform into a boulevard to walk upon (*progredi*). I defy our continental liberals to accept the English institutions, or even those of America which are derived from them. But let us not allow ourselves to be led away by this all-absorbing subject.

The representative government "on the English plan" is a product of the Catholic Middle Ages. It has been lost in France since the time of Louis XI., before the official birth of Protestantism. Since the Reformation it has *always* remained unknown to the most Protestant power in Europe, the Electorate of Brandenburg, in this sense the retrogressive power by excellence; and it was preserved in the Netherlands, among the Protestants of the North as well as among the Catholics of the South, down to the time of the "liberal" Joseph II., and the arrival of the "liberating" army of Dumouriez, which deprived us of our in-

dependence and our secular liberties by infecting us with the principles of the French Revolution. Did not the ecclesiastical principality of Liege, whence M. de Laveleye now issues his rash judgments, possess without interruption, until the "immortal conquests of '89," a representative government "on the English plan?" If he is ignorant of the fact, let him read the latest work of M. Poulet, the eminent Louvain professor, and those of the learned Canon Daris. And in Switzerland, a land in which the Catholic Church and free institutions were united for centuries before Calvin's time, did not the Catholic cantons preserve their Christian democracies, as well as the Protestant cantons, until their "deliverance" by the Sonderbund war? And the Tyrol? It but lately celebrated the fifth centenary of the foundation of its local institutions. M. de Laveleye may wonder, if he please, how this fortunate corner of Europe "can live peacefully only under the dominion of Rome." The Tyrolese have no reason to envy any people, so far as historical traditions, nobleness of heart, vigor of body and mind, and all the virtues that make men free and bold are concerned. And was the constitution which St. Stephen gave to Hungary a chart of bondage? Was it inferior in its institutions to the ancient English constitution? And because there were no Puritans, Quakers or Presbyterians in the ecclesiastical electorates of the holy empire, do you think seriously for a moment that the people were less free and more corrupt than the half-savage Scotch? Look at Westphalia, where the peasants had trusts; the Rhenish provinces in which both city and rural life first approached anything like

perfection; Catholic Swabia and Franconia, whose inhabitants have preserved a vigor which made itself conspicuous in the Thirty Years' War, the Seven Years' War, under the empire of the French Revolution, and at a still more recent date; and maintain, if you dare, that all these lands, blessed by St. Boniface, have produced races that have been degenerated by the Catholic faith, which has preserved them strong and pure in spite of liberal governments?

The example of Spain confirms my thesis in a most remarkable manner. Since the time of Charles V. this country has been robbed of the institutions which we call, for the sake of brevity, the representative regime. The absolutism of Philip II. and his successors, who experienced in their own persons the influence of the Renaissance; then the political folly of the Bourbons, and finally the Liberals of the present century (the *Liberáles*,—the word belongs to the country of Cervantes), in a word, the Spanish government has exerted all its influence to corrupt politically an admirable country, inhabited by the most energetic race in Europe. I say, that people has resisted because it was Catholic. For more than seven centuries—the total duration of ancient Rome—the Catholic Goths of Spain, having taken refuge in the mountain caverns of the Asturias, watched, prayed and fought to preserve their own homes and even Europe from the corroding influence of Islamism. Their national assemblies were councils; their laws were democratic in the Christian sense of the word, but they were so penetrated with the spirit of religion that they were called by ecclesi-

astical names. For more than seven centuries these Catholic giants fought, and they triumphed. Scarcely had their indomitable valor relieved them from the Moslems when they were obliged for three centuries to bear the heavy yoke of royal absolutism. In a short time the traces of their ancient institutions are to be found only amid the mountains of Navarre. But the Catholic faith remained in Spain as the coals live beneath the ashes. Napoleon appears on the scene. He says: Spain is a nation of monks; its people are cowards; I will make an easy conquest of them. You know what happened. The Spaniards of the beginning of this century proved themselves worthy descendants of the conquerors of the Mussulmans; Catholic Spain inflicted the first mortal blow on the absolutism that menaced Europe. Then reigned in turn the different shades of the *Liberáles*, who have reduced the country of Isabella the Catholic to the state in which we now see it. The mass of the Catholic people of Spain resists this third trial, and I am convinced that this noble country, which has been brought up, nourished, and instructed on the maternal knee of the Church, will become once more, in its religious unity, one of the foremost nations in the world. Its literature is superior in grandeur, moral richness, and æsthetic splendor to all the Protestant literature in the world; its painters and architects hold the first rank in the pantheon of artists; it possesses a clergy whose bishops stupefied (this is the expression of Cardinal Dechamps, who told it to me and who knows it himself) the Fathers of the Vatican Council by the soundness of

their extensive knowledge; it possesses monuments which resemble poems in stone; it has had the commerce of the world within its power; it has endowed humanity with half of our globe; it has founded, by itself alone, more colonies than all the other nations put together. Spain has been, is, and will remain the Catholic country, by excellence. You say it is the Church that has diminished the greatness and power of Spain. That is an historical absurdity. It is you, it is your friends, your political idols who have momentarily interrupted civil germination in this energetically fruitful land,—the country of the Asturian Goths, of the Cid, and of the *Romanceros*, the country of Murillo and Velasquez, of Lope de Vega, Calderon and Cervantes, the adopted mother of Christopher Columbus and Hernando Cortez, the tomb of Charles V., the cradle of St. Ignatius and of Balmés. I have just pronounced the name of one of the profoundest thinkers of the present century,—the Catalan Don Jayme Balmés, who died at Vich in 1848, at the age of thirty-eight years, after a literary, philosophical and political career whose renown is increasing with the progress of time. He has left a work which M. de Laveleye would do well to meditate upon before finally accepting the eulogies of MM. Gladstone, Bluntschli, and the editors of the *Chronique;* viz., "*Protestantism Compared with Catholicity.*" Balmés, who was not a Carlist, wrote admirable pages about his country. Here is one which will perhaps induce you to read more:—

"We may expect much from the right instinct of the

Spanish nation, from her proverbial gravity, which so many misfortunes have only augmented, and from that tact, which teaches her so well how to discern the true path to happiness, by rendering her deaf to the insidious suggestions of those who seek to lead her astray. Although for so many years, owing to a fatal combination of circumstances. and a want of harmony between the social and political order, Spain has not been able to obtain a government which understands her feelings and instincts, follows her inclinations, and promotes her prosperity, we still cherish the hope that the day will come when from her own bosom, so fertile in future life, will come forth the harmony which she seeks and the equilibrium which she has lost. In the meantime, it is of the highest importance that all men who have a Spanish heart in their breasts, and who do not wish to see the vitals of their country torn to pieces, should unite and act in concert to preserve her from the genius of evil. Their unanimity will prevent the seeds of perpetual discord from being scattered upon our soil, will ward off this additional calamity, and will preserve from destruction those precious germs whence may arise, with renovated vigor, our civilization, which has been so much injured by disastrous events.

"The soul is overwhelmed with painful apprehensions at the thought that a day may come when religious unity will be banished from among us; that unity which is identified with our habits, our customs, our manners, our laws; which guarded the cradle of our monarchy in the cavern of Covadonga, and which was the emblem on our standard during a struggle of eight

centuries against the formidable crescent; that unity which developed and illustrated our civilization in times of the greatest difficulty; that unity which followed our terrible *tercios*, when they imposed silence upon Europe; which led our sailors when they discovered the New World, and guided them when they for the first time made the circuit of the globe; that unity which sustains our soldiers in their most heroic exploits, and which, at a recent period, gave the climax to their many glorious deeds in the downfall of Napoleon. You who condemn so rashly the work of ages; you who offer so many insults to the Spanish nation, and who treat as barbarism and ignorance the regulating principle of our civilization, do you know what it is you insult? Do you know what inspired the genius of Gonzalvo, of Hernando Cortez, of the conqueror of Lepanto? Do not the shades of Garcilazo, of Herrera, of Ercilla, of Fray Luis de Leon, of Cervantes, of Lope de Vega, inspire you with any respect? Can you venture to break the tie which connects us with them, to make us the unworthy posterity of these great men? Do you wish to place an impassable barrier between their faith and ours, between their manners and ours; to make us destroy all our traditions, and to forget our most inspiring recollections? Do you wish to preserve the great and august monuments of our ancestors' piety among us only as a severe and eloquent reproach? Will you consent to see dried up the most abundant fountains to which we can have recourse to revive literature, to strengthen science, to reorganize legislation, to reëstablish the spirit of nationality, to restore our

glory, and replace this nation in the high position which her virtues merit, by restoring to her the peace and happiness which she seeks with so much anxiety, and which her heart requires?" *

M. de Laveleye is so fond of making prophecies that he will allow me to make one cursorily; it will not frighten him, for it is very clerical, and has against it all the appearances of the successes of our time. I take it from my reason, "corrupted" by the catechism. This is my prophecy: Catholic Spain will be great when Lutheran Prussia will be no longer in existence, or will be reduced, perhaps, to the March of Brandenburg, *bis an die Marck*, as a German statesman said in 1866, when commenting on a verse of the monk of Lehnin.

I made the acquaintance of a German Protestant, who has entered the fold of the Catholic Church, on my return from a journey to Spain. I take this opportunity to recommend his book,† one of the most interesting that could be read at the present time. The conclusions of Herr R. Baumstarck, who was then judge at Constance, in the duchy of Baden, are far from confirming the deductive thesis of M. de Laveleye. After drawing a picture of the faults committed by the rulers of Spain, and the dangers of the situation into which this noble country has been plunged, Herr Baumstarck wrote in 1867:

* *European Civilization*, by the Rev. J. Balmés, page 78 of the American edition, published by Murphy & Co., of Baltimore.

† It has been translated into French by the Baron de Lamezan, with the title: "*Une excursion en Espagne par Reinhold Baumstarck*," (Paris: Tolra, 1872). Consult the pamphlet which Herr Baumstarck has recently published at Wurtzburg, "*Zur Spanischen Frage*," p. 72.

"But there remains in me a profound conviction: it is that Spain is approaching, not what would resemble decadence, but quite the country, a considerable and glorious development. . . . Should things turn to the worst, should the firebrand of civil war yet cast its sinister glare over this beautiful country, should the party of destruction and negation hold the reins of power for a time, these interruptions could not modify my opinions. Perturbations of this sort are afflicting and cruel to many private individuals who become their victims; they only apparently arrest the rapid progress of development. The Spanish people, in possession of an enormous capital yet untouched, and of intellectual and moral strength, whilst adopting whatever good modern European civilization really contains, has known how to preserve itself from most of the corruptions that elsewhere spring from it. This is why the future of this people must *necessarily* be great and brilliant; and what is necessary will happen. . . . . Does any one wish to find at the end of this book the substance of the truths which I have brought with me from Spain, as a treasure to be shared with my readers? Here it is concentrated in a few propositions which resume its quintessence:

"1. The Spanish people are not in a state of decadence and debasement. Far from that: they are busying themselves about their intellectual and material progress with an energy that makes us entertain the most brilliant hopes.

"2. The solid bases of this development—if they wish

to obtain a lasting prosperity—are, and will be, Catholicism and monarchy.

"3. In what concerns art and literature, Spain is on a level with any people or any country in the world.

"4. As to ourselves, the children of central Europe, we could, for many reasons, go back to school in Spain; we would leave it edified on more points than one."

In 1723 the population of Spain amounted to 7,625,000 souls. This number had increased in 1857 to 14,957,837; in 1860 it was 15,151,677, and in 1868, 16,732,052. In 1850, the value of the general commerce of Spain amounted to 1,150 million reals. In 1860 it was 2,584, and in 1867, 2,937 millions.

In taking account of the moral civilization of a nation, I do not attach supreme importance to facts of this kind; but, contrasted with M. de Laveleye's assertions, they possess an eloquent significance.

Until the Renaissance the republics of the Peninsula were not, politically, inferior to England. After this epoch, which began earlier in Italy than elsewhere, they underwent, it is true, the fatal influence of the doctrines which are now called liberal, and of which Machiavelli was one of the theorizers. Religious morals corrected, as far as was possible, the fatal consequences of this system. When we see even Popes favoring this latter to a certain extent, in their quality of temporal princes, we can only the more admire the divine edifice of the Church which has preserved incorruptible the deposit of the eternal promises. I have written a book on the Italian republics or communes. I think I have shown clearly enough in it the causes of

the precocious decay of the free institutions of the Middle Ages, and the causes of the false direction which was already given to them as early as the thirteenth century.* But my critics have not, I fear, the same tastes as M. de Laveleye. I will, perhaps, scandalize him also by not sharing in every point the enthusiasm manifested by his friend, M. Bluntschli, in the preface to the German translation of his pamphlet, on the subject of music and the fine arts, in which, contrary to the general thesis of the Liege professor, M. Bluntschli gives the palm even to the Latin Catholic nations. I do not by any means wish to expose myself to ridicule by denying certain improvements realized by the Renaissance, or to throw stones at Michael Angelo, for example, the architect of the basilica of St. Peter's ; but I could easily show that the great Latin artists who find favor, although Catholics, with liberals of the school of MM. de Laveleye and Bluntschli, were themselves afflicted with the organic and mortal malady of the Renaissance. If you wish, we will give you a proof of this some other time.

I am not an admirer of the Italian governments since the Renaissance. My ideal, which is that of Catholics, is neither the brilliant dictatorship of the Medicis, the clement Liberalism of the house of Lorraine in France, nor the elegant absolutism of the Bourbons of Naples, But Italy, on the whole, compared with Sweden, Russia, and even England before the French Revolu-

* *Histoire des Communes Lombardes depuis leur origine jusqu' à la fin du treizième siècle*, par P. de Haulleville. (Paris, Didier, 1857.)

tion, without speaking of half-savage Scotland, was not materially so unhappy, and morally it shone in the spiritual world with a brilliancy which cannot be denied by any one. Were not the courts of Italy superior in literary and artistic culture, and far before those of Stockholm, Copenhagen, Potsdam and even London? The patrimony of St. Peter, the civil principality of the Roman Church, which was to Europe what the District of Columbia is to the United States, the temporal power of the Pope, the oldest sovereignty in Europe, presented, until the arrival of the French "literateurs" of the end of the last century, a model style of self-government: anti-Catholic "civilization" has changed all this. From the fourteenth century until the arrival of the French revolutionists and "civilizers" the Romagna and Bologna were, in the desert of Europe, oases of political felicity. The sovereign Pontiff, it may be safely said, was never insulted by any one of his subjects living there, and liberty of worship, in the sense of our Liberals, was never dreamed of; but was it permitted to criticise the Episcopal Church, the Margrave (*Oberbischoff*), or the Established Church in Sweden, Prussia and England? Did ever the shadow of religious liberty exist in these three Protestant countries? You would not attempt to say it did; the only undisputed liberty was that of hating and persecuting the Catholic Church. In Prussia and Sweden religious tyranny, full of hypocrisy and brutality, held sway. The Test Act was abolished in England only forty-eight years ago. It is no more than a few years since a Catholic priest

could not *show* himself in public in the country of Lord Macaulay and Mr. Gladstone without being subjected to the punishment of a criminal. If in your estimation "civilization" does not consist in the brutal negation of the Catholic Church, and if your principles on political liberty are sincere, you will not rank the Italy of the last three centuries below the level of Protestant nations. For my part, I could prove to you that it ought to be placed higher than the latter; but it is unnecessary for me to give this proof here.

I will at present content myself with showing to the public the Catholic Spaniards and Italians on one side, the Protestants, Prussians as well as Swedes and English Puritans, on the other, and I will ask: which of these two groups, in its entirety, the better represents the great, noble and fruitful ideas which are agitating humanity since the Passion of Jesus Christ? The answer is not doubtful.

I wish only to add that from the beginning of the Reformation until 1848, Prussia, the incarnation of Lutheran Protestantism, was the last of the "civilized" states, according to the ideas held by M. de Laveleye, and that, without the military victories of 1866 and 1870, the most part of his readers would protest against the exaggerated eulogies he passes upon it.

But let us proceed:

"When we see Latin Protestants gaining the advantage over German Catholic communities; when, in the same country, and in the same group, with the same language and a common origin, it is shown that the Reformers progress more rapidly and more regularly

than Catholics, it is difficult not to attribute the superiority of the one over the other to the religion they profess."

The author is going to attempt to demonstrate these paradoxes which are ever inspired by his anti-Catholic prejudices. He first cites Ireland and Scotland:

"It is admitted that the Scotch and Irish are of the same origin. Both have been subjected to the English. Until the sixteenth century Ireland was much more civilized than Scotland. Green Erin was, during the early part of the Middle Ages, a centre of civilization, when Scotland was only a resort for barbarians. Since the Scotch adopted the Reformation they have even outstripped the English. The climate and nature of the soil are opposed to Scotland's being as rich as England; but Lord Macaulay states that since the seventeenth century the Scotch are in advance of the English in everything. Ireland, on the contrary, devoted to Ultramontanism, is poor, miserable, kept in agitation by the spirit of rebellion, and appears incapable of raising itself by its own strength. What a contrast, even in Ireland, between extremely Catholic Connaught, and Ulster, where Protestantism predominates! Ulster has become rich by industry; Connaught presents the appearance of the last extremity of human misery."

It is from Lord Macaulay that M. de Laveleye borrows the fundamental idea of his comparison between Catholic and Protestant nations. The English historian naturally favors the Protestant side; but with what reserve and with what equity! It is thus that he as-

serts, for example, that it "is difficult to say to which England owes most, to the Roman Catholic religion or to the Reformation." The picture he draws of Ireland and Scotland at the time of the death of Queen Elizabeth (*the great Queen* is one of the weak points of this illustrious man), in 1603, bears no resemblance to the portrait given of her by the Liege professor. Let the reader judge for himself:

"In the year 1603 the great Queen died. That year is, on many accounts, one of the most important epochs in our history. It was then that both Scotland and Ireland became parts of the same empire with England. But Scotland and Ireland, indeed, had been subjugated by the Plantagenets, but neither country had been patient under the yoke. Scotland had, with heroic energy, vindicated her independence, had, from the time of Robert Bruce, been a separate kingdom, and was now joined to the southern part of the island in a manner which rather gratified than wounded her national pride. Ireland had never, since the days of Henry the Second, been able to expel the foreign invaders, but she struggled against them long and fiercely. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the English power in that island was constantly declining, and, in the days of Henry the Seventh, had sunk to the lowest point. The Irish dominions of that prince consisted only of the counties of Dublin and Louth, of some parts of Meath and Kildare, and of a few seaports scattered along the coast. A large portion even of Leinster was not yet divided into counties. Munster, Ulster, and Connaught were ruled by petty sovereigns,

partly Celts, and partly degenerate Normans, who had forgotten their origin and had adopted the Celtic language and manners. But, during the sixteenth century, the English power had made great progress. Half-savage chieftains who reigned beyond the pale had yielded, one after another, to the lieutenants of the Tudors. At length, a few weeks before the death of Elizabeth, the conquest, which had been begun more than four hundred years before by Strongbow, was completed by Mountjoy. Scarcely had James the First mounted the English throne when the last O'Donnell and O'Neill who have held the rank of independent princes, kissed his hand at Whitehall. Thenceforward his writs ran and his judges held assizes in every part of Ireland, and the English law superseded the customs which had prevailed among the aboriginal tribes.

"In extent Scotland and Ireland were nearly equal to each other, and were together nearly equal to England, but were much less thickly populated than England, and were very far behind England in wealth and civilization. Scotland had been kept back by the sterility of her soil: and, in the midst of light, the thick darkness of the middle ages still rested on Ireland.

"The population of Scotland, with the exception of the Celtic tribes which were thinly scattered over the Hebrides and over the mountainous parts of the northern shires, was of the same blood with the population of England, and spoke a tongue which did not differ from the purest English more than the dialects of Somersetshire and Lancashire differed from each other. In Ireland, on the contrary, the population, with the

exception of the small English colony near the coast, was Celtic, and still kept the Celtic speech and manners.

"In natural courage and intelligence both the nations which now became connected with England ranked high. In perseverance, in self-command, in forethought, in all the virtues which conduce to success in life, the Scots have never been surpassed. The Irish, on the other hand, were distinguished by qualities which tend to make men interesting rather than prosperous. They were an ardent and impetuous race, easily moved to tears or to laughter, to fury or to love. Alone among the nations of Northern Europe, they had the susceptibility, the vivacity, the natural turn for acting and rhetoric, which are indigenous on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. In mental cultivation Scotland had an indisputable superiority. Though that kingdom was then the poorest in Christendom, it already vied in every branch of learning with the most favored countries. Scotsmen, whose dwellings and whose food were as wretched as those of the Icelanders of our time, wrote Latin verse with more than the delicacy of Vida, and made discoveries in science which would have added to the renown of Galileo. Ireland could boast of no Buchanan or Napier. The genius, with which her aboriginal inhabitants were largely endowed, showed itself as yet only in ballads which, wild and rugged as they were, seemed to the judging eye of Spenser to contain a portion of the pure gold of poetry.

"Scotland, in becoming part of the British monarchy preserved all her dignity. Having, during many gen-

erations, courageously withstood the English arms, she was now joined to her stronger neighbor on the most honorable terms. She gave a king instead of receiving one. She retained her own constitution and laws. Her tribunals and parliaments remained entirely independent of the tribunals and parliaments which sate at Westminster. The administration of Scotland was in Scottish hands; for no Englishman had any motive to emigrate northward, and to contend with the shrewdest and most pertinacious of all races for what was to be scraped together in the poorest of all treasuries. Meanwhile Scottish adventurers poured southward, and obtained in all the walks of life a prosperity which excited much envy, but which was in general only the just reward of prudence and industry. Nevertheless, Scotland by no means escaped the fate ordained for every country which is connected, but not incorporated, with another country of greater resources. Though in name an independent kingdom, she was, during more than a century, really treated, in many respects, as a subject province.

"Ireland was undisguisedly governed as a dependency won by the sword. Her rude national institutions had perished. The English colonists submitted to the dictation of the mother country, without whose support they could not exist, and indemnified themselves by trampling on the people among whom they had settled. The parliaments which met at Dublin could pass no law which had not previously been approved by the English Privy Council. The authority of the English legislature extended over Ireland. The executive ad-

ministration was intrusted to men taken either from England or from the English pale, and, in either case, regarded as foreigners, and even as enemies, by the Celtic population.

"But the circumstance which, more than any other, has made Ireland to differ from Scotland remains to be noticed. Scotland was Protestant. In no part of Europe had the movement of the popular mind against the Roman Catholic Church been so rapid and violent. The Reformers had vanquished, deposed, and imprisoned their idolatrous sovereign. They would not endure even such a compromise as had been effected in England. They had established the Calvinistic doctrine, discipline, and worship; and they made little distinction between Popery and Prelacy, between the mass and the Book of Common Prayer. Unfortunately for Scotland, the prince whom she sent to govern a fairer inheritance had been so much annoyed by the pertinacity with which her theologians had asserted against him the privileges of the synod and the pulpit that he hated the ecclesiastical polity to which she was fondly attached as much as it was in his effeminate nature to hate anything, and had no sooner mounted the English throne than he began to show an intolerant zeal for the government and ritual of the English Church.

"The Irish were the only people of Northern Europe who had remained true to the old religion. This is to be partly ascribed to the circumstance that they were some centuries behind their neighbors in knowledge. But other causes had coöperated. The Reformation

had been a national as well as a moral revolt. It had been, not only an insurrection of the laity against the clergy, but also an insurrection of all the branches of the great German race against an alien domination. It is a most significant circumstance that no large society of which the tongue is not Teutonic has ever turned Protestant, and that, wherever a language derived from that of ancient Rome is spoken, the religion of modern Rome to this day prevails. The patriotism of the Irish had taken a peculiar direction. The object of their animosity was not Rome, but England; and they had especial reason to abhor those English sovereigns who had been the chiefs of the great schism, Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth. During the vain struggle which two generations of Milesian princes maintained against the Tudors, religious enthusiasm and national enthusiasm became inseparably blended in the minds of the vanquished race. The new feud of Protestant and Papist inflamed the old feud of Saxon and Celt. The English conquerors, meanwhile, neglected all legitimate means of conversion. No care was taken to provide the vanquished nation with instructors capable of making themselves understood. No translation of the Bible was put forth in the Erse language. The government contented itself with setting up a vast hierarchy of Protestant archbishops, bishops and rectors, who did nothing, and who, for doing nothing, were paid out of the spoils of a Church loved, and revered by the great body of the people."*

* *History of England*, by Lord Macaualy; vol. I., page 43. New York, 1865.

We see how Lord Macaulay overturns more than one of the barricades that people have desired to set up against the Catholic Church by supporting themselves on his writings.

M. de Laveleye has, moreover, made an unfortunate selection of his time to take from the "Island of Saints" an argument in favor of his Protestant thesis—a few months before the celebration of the centenary of O'Connell, and on the eve of the publication of a host of pamphlets that brought to light the infamies of which this heroic people was, during three centuries, the victim under Protestant "civilization." The Catholic Emancipation bill in England dates from 1829. O'Connell was the first Catholic who sat in the House of Commons, and he was the first Catholic Lord Mayor of Dublin. The Tudors, the Stuarts, Cromwell and the Puritans, the House of Orange and the House of Hanover, all those, in a word, who have held power in England since Henry VIII., have vied with each other in severity and cruelty, I do not say in oppressing Ireland and muzzling its inhabitants, but in exterminating its population. Those who have most signally distinguished themselves in this work of Protestant civilization are Cromwell and his Puritan "saints." I am not going to re-write this abominable history after M. de Beaumont and the author of the beautiful articles that recently appeared in the *Germania* of Berlin. Let it suffice for me to recall in a summary manner the following "economical" facts to those who may have forgotten them: The Virgin Queen confiscated 600,000 acres of land; James I., 2,000,000 acres. The govern-

ment of this latter even sent its officers to draw up a register of all Ireland, and it was discovered that nearly all the lands belonged to the Crown, and that the whole of Connaught should be confiscated. Charles I. had this "surveying" operation revised by Lord Deputy Strafford, and the Irish know with how much success. Cromwell's army of "saints" committed such atrocities in green Erin that the memory of the maledictions of his victims is yet fresh in the minds of the Irish. All the Catholics who were not massacred, and who could be found, were shipped off to America or shut up in Connaught. "To hell or to Connaught!" Such was the command of these founders of Protestant "civilization." In the reign of William of Orange there remained to Irish Catholics only the tenth part of the property of the soil.

After the final fall of the Stuarts, bloody cruelties ceased. The work of the lawyers began, and their hypocrisy raised a monument of injustice which makes the Protestant historian Gervinus* burst out into this cry of indignation: "A system of oppression against nature was invented, whose plan was to impoverish and barbarize the mass of the people, by exterminating either the Catholic Church or the Catholic population itself." In 1663 and 1666 the Irish were forbidden to export their cattle, because their agriculture was reviving; in 1699 the export of wool was prohibited because these wretches were beginning to compete with the English, etc., etc. No "Papist" could be a State officer nor acquire estated property. No Papist master could have

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more than two apprentices, lest Irish industry might assume strength and vigor. It is a thing worthy to be meditated on by the fanatical admirers of the French Civil Code of 1804, that the English government, to impoverish the Irish, imposed on them the obligation of making an equal division of their property among their children, that is to say, our present system which is admitted neither in England nor in the United States. This system, Burke said, could only ruin families of slender means, "without affording them any means of raising themselves by their industry and intelligence, being prevented from preserving any sort of property."*

As late as the reign of George III. Catholics were not allowed to erect schools; it is only as yesterday since the parents of Daniel O'Connell were obliged to send their son to Liege and Douay to find a Catholic school in which the future Liberator of their country might be educated. It was only under this same reign of George III. that the law was abolished by virtue of which an Irishman was forbidden to have in his possession a horse worth more than five pounds sterling. Burke said of this entire code of Protestant despotism: "It is so admirably organized to oppress the people and disfigure human nature itself in them, that never has anything like it been invented by the most notorious hypocrisy." This suffices to prove the sovereign injustice of M. de Laveleye's judgment. Am I not, in reality, more than justified in accusing the Liege professor of allowing

* See the work of M. le Chevalier A. de Moreau d'Andoy, entitled *Le Testament*. Paris. Dentu. 1873.

himself to be inspired by religious hatred, when I prove to what an extent he falsifies history to support his prejudices or passionate judgments? Ah! you say it is the Church that has made Ireland miserable, and that it is Protestantism that has made England great and powerful. I say you are praising the assassin and insulting the victim. Listen to a page of the history of the deliverance of the Irish, as told but lately by one of our friends in the *Français* of the 3d of August. 1875:

"In 1828, O'Connell thought the opportunity had come for striking a heavy blow. There was question, as we know, of obtaining the privilege for Catholics to sit in the House of Commons and to fill public offices. O'Connell resolved on presenting himself to the electors of Clare in order to force open the gates of that Parliament which were so obstinately kept shut. It might appear at first sight that if it was difficult for O'Connell to gain admission into the House of Commons, nothing ought to be easier to him than to have himself chosen by the electors. Were not the vast majority of the Irish Catholics? Yes, but to have a vote, it was necessary to pay a certain rent. Then, all the rich folks were Protestants, and nearly all the Catholics were poor. There were scarcely any Catholic voters but the tenants or small farmers who were completely at the mercy of the Protestant landlord. The tenants have no lease: the caprice of the landlord or rather of his agent—for the landlord lives almost invariably in England—suffices to drive out the farmer. Expulsion, or, to use the cant word, *eviction*, means ruin. The tenant receives no indemnity for the im-

provements he has made: he got the land waste and had to build a house upon it: on the day of the eviction his cabin is destroyed. That is the duty of the terrible 'crowbar brigade.'

"There is nothing so lamentable as the history of these *evictions*. The Irish peasant has often shown in such circumstances an endurance, the secret of which can only be found in his religious faith. Do you wish to have an example of it? Two old creatures brutally driven from their cabin, are lamenting. 'Ah!' says the poor woman, 'here I am at seventy-four years of age, without a shelter in the world; I, who have never done ill to any one, and who have often given shelter to the unfortunate. What have I done to deserve all this?' 'Say nothing, my dear,' replied her husband, 'our Lord suffered more than that in His Passion.'

"Evictions of this kind are not isolated facts. In ten years alone, from 1841 to 1851, 282,000 houses were destroyed in this manner. During the single year 1849, 50,000 families were thus driven out. You could not travel through some parts of Ireland without meeting at every step with these desolate ruins. The excesses have been such that an Englishman and a Protestant, John Bright, could say: '*It is impossible, while travelling through these regions, not to feel that an enormous crime has been committed by the government to which the people of this country are subject.*' We see what was the relation of the Catholic voter to the Protestant landlord. Every vote cast for a Catholic—and there was no secret voting then—brought on *eviction* as an inevitable consequence, that

is to say, ruin and sometimes death. So, until the organization of the great Catholic Association, the farmer voted invariably according to the will of the landlord. The association once founded, the farmer felt that he was supported and encouraged. His patriotism was aroused and it inspired him with veritable acts of heroism. By what other name shall we call the conduct of that poor father of a family who was in prison for some debt he owed to his landlord? The latter went to see him: 'You are free,' he says, 'if you only vote against O'Connell.' There was a struggle in the peasant's soul. On one side was his country, on the other his family who needed him to work for their support. He accepts the offer and wends his way towards the poll with an unsteady step and a clouded brow. His poor wife, who is in the crowd, perceives him. She guesses what has happened. She rushes towards him, forgetful of her children who are dying of hunger and asking her for bread. 'Unfortunate man,' she exclaimed, 'what are you doing? Do you think on your soul and liberty?' The peasant understands his wife, votes for O'Connell and goes back to prison.

"When O'Connell announced that he was going to present himself before the electors of Clare, there was great excitement in Ireland. On both sides preparations were made for a battle which every one felt would be decisive. On one side were the government, the soldiery and riches; on the other a multitude in rags, but with them the Catholic clergy, the Association and O'Connell. The fight was animated, but the Protestants soon perceived that they would be beaten. All

the tenants abandoned their landlords and voted for O'Connell, in spite of all the threats of eviction. The Agitator was elected by an overwhelming majority, and, surrounded by 60,000 men all of whom bore large boughs of trees in their hands as a sign of triumph, he entoned this song of victory:

"'The men of Clare know that the only basis of liberty is religion. They have triumphed, because the voice which is raised for fatherland first breathed its prayer to the Lord. Songs of liberty are now heard throughout the whole country; these sounds traverse the valleys, the hills reëcho them; they murmur in the waves of our rivers, and our torrents, with their voices of thunder, reanswer the echoes of our mountains: Ireland is free!'"

Yes, Ireland has become free because it was indomitable in its faith. Let us hope that the Irish will also remain faithful to their traditions of generosity. If the English government were just and wise, it would always bear in mind* the words by which the Duke of Wellington justified the Emancipation Bill to the House of Lords:

"Your lordships know that at least half the troops which I commanded by the grace of his Majesty in the campaigns undertaken on different occasions for the security and independence of this country, were

* We have taken the liberty of slightly changing this sentence. Our author expresses himself as if England had already made complete reparation to Ireland for the injuries of the past. Unfortunately, this is not the case. If much has been done, many concessions still remain to be made, and it would be for the interest of both countries that they be made as soon as possible.

composed of Roman Catholics. In reminding you of this fact, I am persuaded that all other arguments are superfluous. We must all acknowledge that without the blood and valor of Catholics we would not have been victorious."

But, you will say, all that does not prevent Catholic Connaught from being the home of misery, whilst Protestant Ulster is enriched by industry. In the first place, this is not exactly the case. Connaught, which has produced Father Mathew,* one of the greatest men of the present century, is not as miserable to-day as people affect to believe; crimes against property are less numerous there than in Ulster, and for forty years past this province has been constantly progressing. Finally, it has been proved by us that the relatively greater well-being of Ulster is the product of execrable violence. What would people say of a Pasha who would reproach the Sclaves that are subject to Turkey with being poor whilst the Turks enjoy opulence? What would you think of the judge whe would reproach a man that was robbed with the misery into which a robber had plunged him? We will say more of Ulster farther on.

"Since the Scotch adopted the Reformation," says M. de Laveleye, "they have made more rapid progress than the English." Since the English themselves have been distanced by the Scotch, it is not, then, the Reformation that is the cause of this progress, unless M.

*The Baron de Haulleville is mistaken about the birthplace of Father Mathew, which is Thomastown, Tipperary; but Archbishop McHale or Father Tom Burke will answer his purpose just as well.

de Laveleye pretends that the English are still too Catholic, and that progress is in direct proportion to the distance a people is from the positive bases of Christianity. The author should have also told us of what branch of the Reformation he wishes to speak. Of all the countries in the world, except perhaps the United States, Scotland is in effect the one that is most divided in its religious life. We will have occasion to speak further on of the Scotch Calvinists and of the outrageous despotism which sectarianism has inflicted on this country ever since the first breaking out of the Reformation. We will here content ourselves with asserting that there is no religious folly which has not found adherents beyond the Tweed. M. de Laveleye's ideal cannot consist in such a moral anarchy. For I ask myself in vain what relation could exist between this anarchy and the material prosperity of Scotland. This prosperity is real. I have recently travelled through this country, which it is so interesting to study, and I have been astonished at the economical phenomena which I have observed there. I would have been more so if I had not known the prodigious results obtained by the obstinate industry of my compatriots of the Ardennes, of the peasants of the Campine, and of the farm laborers of some of the sandy plains of Flanders. M. de Laveleye, who has written such judicious things about the rural economy of our own country, ought to speak more seriously of the prosperity of the Scotch. The Duke of Sutherland reclaims every year so many acres of fertile land out of an ungrateful soil, at the expense of capital which is wonderfully abundant in his treas-

ury. I do not by any means blame him for it. But what would M. de Laveleye say if I ascribed to the action of the Catholic Church the wonders in agriculture accomplished by the aid of the money of the State in the plains of Beverloo and the beautiful artificial prairies created in the Campine of Limburg by the Count de Theux, or if I attributed to Belgian Liberalism the excellent agricultural operations effected in the Campine of Antwerp by M. Rolin-Jacquemyns?

If it is the Reformation that has brought about the present prosperity of Scotland, we must acknowledge that this result has come very slowly, since it was delayed for more than two centuries. Here is the truth, told by M. L. de Lavergne.*

"Scotland is one of the noblest examples we have in the world of the power of man over nature. I know of no country except Holland which could compete with it. Switzerland itself does not offer such great obstacles to human industry. What increases the wonder of this development of prosperity on so poor a soil *is that it is all recent.* Scotland has not the same precedent as England. *Only a century ago it was yet one of the poorest and most barbarous countries in Europe.* The final remains of its former poverty *have not yet entirely disappeared.* But we can assert that, on the whole, there is not now under heaven a better regulated country. Its total productions have increased tenfold in the course of the present century.

* *Essai sur l'économie rurale de l'Angleterre, de l'Ecosse et de l'Irlande.* Paris, Guillemin, 1853.

"Scotch farmers, so generally miserable a hundred years ago, do not yet possess as much capital as the English. . . . The shires of Lanark and Renfrew, which are the principal seats of manufacturing and commercial activity, have passed, *in a hundred years*, from a population of 100,000 to 600,000 souls, and the single city of Glasgow from 20,000 inhabitants to near 400,000. . . . Even the germ of so much riches had no existence in 1750. It was English capital, aided by laborious and frugal Scotch genius, that thus transformed this inert land in so short a time. . . . As long as Scotland remained isolated from England and dependant on its own strength, it only vegetated; but when it was opened to the capital and examples of its powerful neighbor, it at once rose to at least equal preëminence. . . . The handsomest present that England has made to Scotland, in uniting it to itself, because it alone contains all the others, is its constitution and its political spirit. Scotland was, until 1750, the stronghold of feudalism; it began to open its eyes only after the battle of Culloden. . . . At the end of the last century, the county of Air, on the frontiers of Galloway, was in the most deplorable condition, etc."

I have mentioned the Duke of Sutherland. The history of the recent fortunes of this great lord in Scotland has been told by M. L. de Lavergne, and it proves how M. de Laveleye is blinded by his anti-Catholic prejudices. We are told that Scotland owes its prosperity to Protestant principles. That is absolutely false. Until the battle of Culloden, in 1746, the chiefs

of the Highland clans, says M. de Lavergne (p. 348), "dreamt only on increasing the numbers of their soldiers, their importance being judged, not by their revenues, but by the strength of the armed bands they could equip. When the agricultural and social State of the Middle Ages had long ceased to exist elsewhere, it was still preserved amid these retreats. After the expulsion of the Stuarts everything was changed." How? It is interesting to know that.

The population, partly Catholic (a portion of the Highlanders never ceased to remain faithful to the Church of Rome), was too dense for the productive qualities of the soil. The heads of clans came by degrees to the conclusion that it was possible to make use of their mountains *only by depopulating them;* from that time they never ceased, at first by following circuitous routes, then openly, and by violence, to decimate that population which their ancestors had multiplied in the interest of war. The English government adroitly drove them on to it. Until the commencement of the present century, these measures were executed with discretion; but after that people put themselves to less trouble; the head of the clan began to hunt his subjects—very many of the unfortunate creatures emigrated to Canada; others sought shelter in the *Lowlands.* On the ruins of their cabins large farm-houses were erected for the raising of sheep. In 1808 Lord Selkirk publicly explained his theory of this depopulation. It was and is still called "clearing an estate." It was the time when Sir Walter Scott sung! The last heiress of the *great southern* lords,

the Countess of Sutherland, married, in 1785, George Granville, Marquis of Stafford, who was raised in 1833 to the dignity of Duke of Sutherland. The marchioness possessed in the county of Sutherland more than 750,000 acres, inhabited by 15,000 Highlanders, from among whom the ninety-third regiment of infantry was recruited; but her husband had enormous capital at his disposal. They were both served by an intelligent man, named James Loch, who knew how "to clear an estate." The Highlanders of the heiress of the Mhoir-Fhear-Chattaibh received orders to leave their mountains and come and settle on the lands of the Marchioness situated near the sea-shore, as fishermen, mariners or laborers. Those who refused to do so were compelled to emigrate to America. In the ten years from 1810 to 1820, 3,000 families were thus expelled from the lands on which their ancestors had lived. When they resisted, her agents demolished their dwellings, and in some cases, in order to do their work more quickly they set fire to them. In consequence of intelligent operations, and thanks to the Marquis of Stafford's capital, 118,000 Cheviots and 13,000 black-faces browsed on the Sutherland mountains; 415,000 pounds of wool were sold to Yorkshire owners of spinning factories; 30,000 sheep were slaughtered for the farmers of Northumberland; and Mr. Loch became member of Parliament. O Walter Scott!

Leaving Connaught, M. de Laveleye sets out for Switzerland, where once more he loses an opportunity of showing his special knowledge in matters of rural and political economy. Blinded by his prejudices, he

pretends that the *Latin* cantons of Neufchatel, Vaud and Geneva, because they are Protestant, are *extraordinarily* superior to the Germanic, but Catholic, cantons of Lucerne, the Upper Valais and the forest cantons, in education, literature, the fine arts, industry, wealth, commerce and even—in cleanliness.

This unqualified assertion may alarm those readers who are unacquainted with Switzerland and its history; but it is more audacious than correct. The basin of Lake Leman has received from nature exceptional fertility and resources of economy, and it is not astonishing that the people who inhabit these favored countries are more prosperous than the mountain villagers of Uri, or those of the rude and savage valleys of Saas, Anniviers and Zermatt in the Upper Valais. Compare the Protestant regions of the canton of Vaud outside the basin of Lake Leman, with the Catholic districts of the canton of Fribourg, which are in the same conditions of climate and altitude, and you will be convinced that the Catholics of Fribourg are nothing behind the Protestants of Vaud, either in intellectual culture, economical production, order or well-being. The prosperity of Geneva is very natural, and to explain this it is not necessary to give the honor of it to the coreligionists of M. Carteret. This city occupies an exceptional position on the banks of a large lake furrowed by steamboats, surrounded by vineyards and rich pastures, and bordering on France. But lately Geneva was the rendezvous of many foreigners who came from every country in the world; the *élite* of its historical population belongs to rich, distinguished

and emigrant French families. The fortune of Neufchatel is due to its population of clock-makers, who are no more Protestant than they are Catholic, and whose lot is not very enviable. To say that the cantons of Geneva and Neufchatel are more prosperous than the Upper Valais and the Forest cantons because the latter are Catholic, is no more reasonable than the following proposition : men have not succeeded in raising cereals on the sides of the Matterhorn, nor in planting vines of Andermatt in Uri because the soil is there inhabited by Catholics. M. Martin* cites, with regard to the Valais, an " economical " fact, which I submit to the reflection of the professors of Geneva, Berne, and Liege. At a general meeting of all the conferences of St. Vincent de Paul of Italian Switzerland, at St. Maurice, the conferences from the Valais declared that they knew not to what purpose they ought to apply their resources and their time, *seeing that they had no poor to attend to ?*

On the authority of an English writer, Mr. Hepworth Dixon, M. de Laveleye goes so far as to pretend that in the canton of Appenzell, which is divided into two parts (since 1597 ; *Inner-Rhoden*, in the mountains, inhabited by 11,900 Catholics ; and *Ausser-Rhoden*, in the plain, peopled by 46,726 Protestants), a population of the same Germanic race proves the same principles ; the Protestants are active, industrious, sociable and rich ; the Catholics are slothful, fond of routine, ignorant, poor, and live in huts scattered here and there. " Every shepherd," says Mr.

* *Avenir du Protestantisme et du Catholicisme*, p. 197.

Dixon, "lives in seclusion; he meets his fellow-citizens only at mass, at a boxing match, or in the public house. Every one knows how to read and write, for they are Swiss and are subject to the cantonal laws; but they know neither of books nor journals; scarcely are some Lives of the Saints, some popular stories, some collections of old women's cures to be found, *instead of fresh and exciting news.*" Dr. Schaepman, in the excellent Dutch Review, *Onze Wachter* (August 1875), which we heartily recommend our Flemish compatriots to read, replied to M. de Savornin's translation by an article that reveals a master hand. We will have occasion to cite it more than once. The Dutch poet, with the austere good faith that is characteristic of his race, took the trouble to study the very source from which M. de Laveleye has drawn his Swiss paradoxes. The result is that Mr. Dixon, in his book called "The Switzers" is no more reliable an authority than in his other writings: "Free Russia," "New America," "The History of two Queens" etc. The *Saturday Review* itself does not repose an unreserved confidence in him.

I have never visited the canton of Appenzell; but one of my Swiss friends, whom I have consulted about Mr. Dixon's assertions, gave me answer: "They are meaningless" (I quote verbatim); "it is understood that a people having few pastors, and living in almost inaccessible mountains, is ruder and less opulent than are urban multitudes living in a plain; the question of religion has nothing in common with the economical situation of the canton of

Appenzell." For my own part, I assert that Mr. Dixon's portrait, relieved of its false pencilings, charms me. These mountaineers, known, besides, over all Switzerland for their jovial humor, their strength of body and mind, and their ancient popular games (*Schwingfeste*), ought to produce a delightful effect, when they descend from their habitations, in their picturesque national costumes, either to betake themselves to mass, or to amuse themselves amid the "civilized" people of the plains. Mountaineers, shepherds who all know how to read and write, who are subscribers to what are disdainfully called "popular sheets," and who read the Lives of the Saints instead of taking pleasure in "fresh and exciting novels" like "Timothy Trim" and "Fanny Lear," for example. Such mountaineers cannot evidently merit the eulogium of the "cultivated minds" of whom M. de Laveleye speaks.

CHAPTER III.

ECONOMICAL COMPARISON OF PROTESTANT WITH CATHOLIC COUNTRIES.

What is meant by the words "To be a Man of the Times?—The First Temporal Rule of Human Societies is, "Seek first the Kingdom of God—*Servire Deo regnare est*—How a Community of Savages can be Relatively Perfect—One Thing only is Necessary for a Community, which is the Service of God; the other things are Relative and Contingent—It is False that Protestant countries are more active, industrious, economical and richer than Catholic Countries—Error of the Abbé F. Martin on this Subject—Political Economy and Catholics in Prussia—In the United States—In Canada—Protestants in France—The so-called Economical Consequences of the Edict of Nantes—The Quota of the Exchange and Catholic Countries—Catholics and the Book Trade—Catholics and Political Life in Germany—The Conclusion to be drawn from these Facts.

Before penetrating farther into the labyrinth of the deductive school, let us refer once more to the absolute principles that predominate in this discussion.

I have no disdain for worldly comfort; I entertain a profound admiration for all the scientific discoveries of our age; with all my heart I associate myself with, and in my humble sphere, I labor with perseverance in, the progress of public instruction; I take an active part in the civil contests of the forum; I appreciate the practical importance of industry and commerce; I do not deny the logic of the economical law of buying and selling; I prefer our railway carriages to the stage-coaches in which I used to traverse the Ardennes in

my youth; I consider my perfected fowling-piece far superior to the flint and rod gun of my grandfather's time; in a word, I am "a man of my time;" but I assert that M. de Laveleye will not convince me that M. Tiberghien is a greater philosopher than Aristotle; that the pupil of the latter, Alexander of Macedonia, was inferior in politics to Bismarck; that Demosthenes was less talented than Mr. Gladstone; that Papinian was a pedant compared with M. Bluntschli, and that M. de Savornin is far superior to St. Jerome. The Protestant sects, and even the Universal Church have only indirect relations with all the very respectable things which these great names recall to mind. Jesus Christ said: "My Kingdom is not of this world." His kingdom is that of God. "Seek His kingdom and His justice," adds the Savior of the human race, "and all these things shall be added unto you." And Catholics possess *all these things* in different proportions, and to at least as great an extent as Protestants. At a time when professors of political economy willingly believe themselves to be the high priests of the future, because they expound the laws that regulate the production and circulation of fluctuating riches, and study the conditions of material prosperity, in our epoch, especially, we must not cease to repeat, and even to cry out from the house-tops, that the end of man on this earth does not consist in the exaltation of his own power. I open the catechism used by my children, and I read with delight these simple answers, superior to all the beauties of Plato's "Timæus" and the twelfth book of Aristotle's "Metaphysics."

"Q. What is man? A. Man is a creature of God, endowed with reason, possessing an immortal soul and a mortal body.

"Q. What is the noblest part of man? A. It is the soul.

"Q. For what end was man created by God? A. Man was created by God to serve Him in this life, and to possess Him for ever in the next.

"We were not created, then, to enjoy ourselves in this life and to amass wealth? A. No, we were created to serve God."

To serve God is to reign. *Servire Deo regnare est.* He who serves God reigns over creation, even should he be the poorest and most illiterate of men. The Christian faith has not been preached and the Universal Church has not been founded by rich capitalists, men of letters, publicists, professors of rural economy, transcendent politicians, skilful diplomatists, great warriors, and eloquent or shrewd lawyers. Jesus Christ, *filius fabri*, lived as a laborer and died crucified between two malefactors; the Apostles were simple men, workingmen, fishers like the fishermen of Blankenberghe, and the divine work of Christianity was the greatest scandal to which the "learned," the "rich," the "intelligent," and the "civilized" of the four first centuries lent their aid. It is the same with it at the present time. The existence, vigor, development, and immutability of the Catholic Church is a scandal for M. de Laveleye, and all the incomprehensible geniuses who share his superannuated prejudices and perhaps his recent hate.

M. X. Marmier related a short time ago before the assembled academies of France the history of the Home. I select from the extensive works of this charming narrator a passage which I dedicate to M. de Laveleye. Down to the present time the tertiary man, who will be, they say, in theology, something similar to what the Krupp cannon is in the art of war, has not been discovered; but there are lacustrine cities yet in existence, and, strange to say, they are "clerical":

"In one of the most fertile regions of South America, in the Republic of Venezuela, a tribe of Indians construct their cabins in the middle of Lake Maracaïbo. Why? Is it that they may be out of the reach of tigers and serpents, or of the invasion of a hostile tribe? No. It is simply to rid themselves of mosquitoes that are far more ferocious and venomous than those of our temperate climates. Like ours, they feel at home in the neighborhood of water. But they do not go far from the humid soil to which they owe their existence, and the Indians know that at a certain distance from the shore they have nothing more to fear from these terrible insects. They have at hand all they want to build their cabins: the *palo di hierro* for their piles, a lighter wood for their boards and partitions, creeping plants from which they make cords to bind the different parts of their edifice, and palm leaves with which to cover the roof. For they know nothing either of snow or cold winds. They do not require to build massive walls for the mere purpose of keeping out the rain. Thanks to the peculiar richness of their

country, they have no more need to give themselves much trouble about the necessaries of life. They have only to throw their lines or nets into the lake that surrounds them and they find as much excellent fish as they want. On this same lake, at certain periods, they see thousands upon thousands of ducks beating one another to death, and they capture a large quantity of them with ingenious snares. On the shore grows the *hevea*, from which they extract the milky juice from which caoutchouc is made. Merchants come every year to purchase this commodity as well as the down of the ducks which these industrious people collect, and the cargoes of fish which they have salted and smoked.

"Thus the Indians of Maracaïbo live in their peaceful home. They are not as numerous as civilized communities. They have neither newspapers nor railways. They are unacquainted with the pleasant agitations of the trickeries of the Exchange, and the charms of parliamentary discussions. But Spanish missionaries have converted them to Catholicism. In the midst of their villages rises a chapel, also built on piles. The cross which surmounts it is reflected in the water. Its bell tolls the *Angelus* in this solitude of the New World; at the time of the offices the family canoes are ranged at the foot of its portal, and the faithful Indians kneel piously within its walls.

"When the Spaniards arrived here the aspect of the aquatic habitations of Maracaïbo reminded them of Venice, and they gave the country in which they found them the name of Venezuela. The opulent Venice lost its wealth. The city of the doges lost its golden

ring. The queen of the Adriatic lost her crown. Marvellous Venice! Of old so many glories of every kind, and so many disasters in quick succession!

"The little Indian tribe in Venezuela has not experienced this brilliant prosperity, and will never experience this terrible decay. Satisfied with its lowly position in this world, it dreams neither on becoming rich by hazardous speculations, nor on becoming great by adventurous conquests. Its high sea is its lake, its light bark its *Bucentaure*, its wooden chapel its basilica of St. Mark, and its happiness is to be looked for in the modest habits of its daily life."

Certainly, neither you, reader, nor I will choose this lacustrine city for a summer residence; but we would not dare to assert that these happy creatures live, before God, in a state of civilization inferior to that enjoyed by the ushers of the present government of Geneva, or the police agents of Berlin. The conclusion I wish to draw from this sort of apologue is this: the deductive doctrine of the school of M. de Laveleye is false in principle. The material and exterior development of a community depends on the nature and countless accessory circumstances which vary according to epoch and latitude. But one thing alone is necessary, everywhere and always, and that is to serve God, and even when we do not politically, economically, industriously or literarily succeed in this service, we are none the less above all the things of this world. *Servire Deo regnare est.*

I am astonished that M. de Laveleye has not read the beautiful book of the Abbé Martin, "*De l'avenir*

du Protestantisme et du Catholicisme." He would have found arguments in it in support of his thesis. M. Martin, who does not appear to have studied the causes and effects of the Renaissance sufficiently, and whom the study of theology has kept too much, perhaps, from economical researches on the origin of the riches and poverty of nations, agrees that Catholic nations are economically and, perhaps, politically to a certain extent, inferior, when compared with so-called Protestant nations ; and he endeavors to explain or rather to attenuate this extraordinary situation by the aid of moral considerations which bear too close a resemblance to consolations. Holding the principles which I have laid down in all due reserve, and without denying that a Catholic community, even religiously perfect, may temporarily, under the influence of certain external circumstances, decline economically and politically, I do not admit the concessions made by M. Martin. I am going to continue the proof of it, by following M. de Laveleye step by step.

" Wherever the two forms of worship are met with in the same country," M. de Laveleye pretends that " Protestants are more active, industrious and economical, and consequently richer, than Catholics."

The end of life not being to amass riches, I might simply refer the author to Melanchton. He said to his mother, who desired to become a Protestant : " If it is best to live a Lutheran, it is preferable to die a Catholic." But let us take from M. de Laveleye's idea whatever truth it may contain: a rational economical development that does not destroy the spiritual

means which man ought to employ to attain his supernatural end. In this point of view the thesis of the professor of political economy is belied by the facts. In Prussia, the stronghold of Lutheranism, it is precisely the Catholic provinces that are the richest, if they are not the only ones that are rich : Rhenish Prussia, Westphalia and Silesia. The Protestant provinces, Prussia, Pomerania and Brandenburg, which furnish at the present time the strongest contingent to emigration, are the poorest, and in the Protestant province of Prussia, it is precisely the Catholic district of Ermland that is alone rich. Catholic Posen, although possessing a robust rural class, is, it is true, less prosperous than the other Catholic provinces. And why ? Because it is yet suffering from the economical (and not religious) errors of the government of the ancient Polish monarchy, and next because it is the object of an administrative tyranny which stifles all the aspirations of the people ; thus, for example, the government swore they would Germanize the Polish people. Instruction is given in the primary schools only in German to children who have learned nothing but Polish on their mother's knee ; they are obstinate in checking with premeditation the intellectual development of the young. The economical development of the Posenians is shackled by the government in the primary schools. After the annexation to the electorate of Brandenburg of certain Catholic districts of Westphalia (Ravensberg, etc,) Frederic II. permitted their inhabitants to settle in the Marches which, with the exception of the city of

Berlin, were until then absolutely forbidden to them. This is the reason why very many Catholic families of Westphalian origin are now to be found in the Marches. All are in easy circumstances in a relatively poor country, and it is they who, since the proclamation of religious liberty in 1850, have served as the nucleus of all the Catholic missions in these districts. There exist, however, particularly in Silesia and Posen certain poor Catholic districts ; these are principally the communes where formerly there were rich monasteries, "secularized" in 1810 or after 1831. The people who lived around these ancient Catholic institutions, and who shared in their happiness and even in their splendor, were suddenly ruined when the source of their worldly prosperity was dried up, when the former causes of their industry were made to disappear and those on whom they depended for support were hunted from the country. Such ruins, caused by the spirit of Protestantism, are not repaired in a few years.

The truth is, that in mixed populations where the majority are not violently oppressive, the minority, in concentrating their forces and their energy, generally distinguish themselves by an industrious activity. Such is the economical cause of the industry and commerce of the Greeks in the Turkish empire, of Protestants in Bavaria, Alsace, and the south of France, of Catholics in Holland and the Marches of Brandenburg, of the Dalmatians in the Republic of Venice, of the Chinese in the British possessions of Asia, and of the Jews in every part of the world.

M. de Laveleye pretends, after M. de Tocqueville, that "in the United States most of the Catholics are poor;" and he adds that in Canada "affairs of importance, industry, commerce, the principal business houses in the cities are in the hands of Protestants." When M. de Tocqueville travelled in the United States (about 1830), the emancipation of the Catholics from the yoke of the Puritans and other English "liberals" was recent, and the new immigration of the Irish, French and German Catholics had not yet produced its fruits. The illustrious writer, if he really expressed this judgment (M. de Laveleye has not told us where he gets his quotation), would not repeat it now, seeing that Catholics everywhere hold the first rank in the great American Republic, not only in Louisiana, at Baltimore, Boston and New York, but even in the Western States. Since De Tocqueville has been quoted, I will also quote him:

"America is the most democratic country in the world, and it is at the same time the country where, according to the most trustworthy accounts, the Catholic religion is making the greatest progress. . . . Our kinsmen will tend more and more to divide themselves into two parties only, the one abandoning Christianity altogether and the other entering into the fold of the Catholic Church.

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"The American (that is the Protestant) preachers incessantly return to this subject, and it is only with great difficulty they can at all divert their attention from it. The better to affect their hearers they are

showing them every day how religious belief favors liberty and public order, and it is often difficult to know, when hearing them, whether the chief object of religion is to secure eternal felicity in the next world or well-being in this one."*

M. de Laveleye has not been happy in calling in the assistance of M. de Tocqueville. The first Catholic bishop who was appointed in the United States was Bishop Carroll, in 1790. There are now seven archbishops and thirty-six bishops ;† and the first American cardinal, Archbishop McCloskey of New York, has recently entered the Sacred College. Catholic works of every kind are being developed with truly admirable energy and abundance, and the faithful of Louisiana, Missouri, and the Western States, as well as those of California and Oregon, rival the old and rich Catholic communities of New England, in endowing these innumerable works with capital, which is the palpable manifestation of unexampled prosperity. Is it in the "History of the Intellectual Development of Europe," by Dr. Draper, that M. de Laveleye has found his singular information on the economical situation of American Catholics? The school to which our compatriot belongs has created a certain degree of excitement about this poor production of a New York professor of chemistry, whose philosophy is in no way superior to that of Holbach and Helvetius, though it has been praised by Professor Tyndall. However this

* *De la Democratie aux Etats Unis*, vol. 2, pages 30 and 142 (Paris: Pagnerre, 1850.)

† There are at present eleven archbishops and fifty-six bishops in the United States.

may be, M. de Laveleye's argument is not serious, and we picture to ourselves the jovial air with which it will be received by our friend, Father Hecker, of the New York *Catholic World*.

I know not whether the Catholic Canadians are doing "great things;" but this is the first time I hear of their poverty. In the Island of Newfoundland and Lower Canada, where the descendants of the old French colonists constitute, if I am well informed, three-fourths of the population, most of the real estate is in the hands of Catholics, who are generally in very comfortable circumstances; in Upper Canada the less numerous Catholics are Irish or other immigrants, who are found in the usual condition of this general class of colonists in the English possessions. From the time of the annexation of the French colonies of North America to the crown of England, the Catholics have been, if not oppressed, at least debarred from the favors of the metropolis. It is remarkable, and it is right to remind M. de Laveleye of it, that the Catholic populations of North America have alone remained faithful to the British crown since the end of the last century. This fidelity has been recompensed in the present century by the tardy gratitude of England; and for the last forty years the Catholic Canadians, finally left to their own efforts, have shown a prodigious activity. If English Protestants do "great things," the French and Irish Catholics of Canada are all doing good things. The enterprising and practical spirit of the English, which existed before the birth of Luther, has manifested itself, it is true, in Canada as well as everywhere

else, and I am not far from admitting, with M. de Laveleye, that in industrial and commercial speculations, Protestant and "perfidious" Albion occupies the first rank: but, once more, rich benefices are not the standard of the moral and political value of a man, a family, a society or a people. According to the stories told to us by the Canadians who have served in the Pontifical army, or studied in the University of Louvain, I add that the English Protestants in no way hold the first rank either in Quebec or Montreal, or even in St. John's, Newfoundland.

M. de Laveleye may boldly erase the Canadian Catholics from the list of the niggards who know not how to derive legitimate applications from political economy. If I were a Frenchman, I would be far prouder of my country for having produced the brave race of Canadians than for having realized the "immortal conquests of '89."

From Quebec to Nîmes is a long distance, but Frenchmen are to be found there, not Frenchman afflicted with Catholicism, but Frenchmen transformed by the Reformation. You naturally expect here the mention of the great name of M. Guizot, a native of Nîmes, whom we may cite as a brilliant example, taken at hazard from among the total of the Protestants of this oasis of prosperity. Undeceive yourselves.

"M. Audiganne, in his remarkable studies on 'The Working Classes of France' remarks the superiority of Protestants in industry and his testimony is the less suspicious as he does not attribute this superiority to Protestantism. The majority of the people of

Nîmes, he says, and notably those employed in the manufacture of taffeta, are Catholics, whilst the chiefs of industry and commerce, the capitalists, in a word, belong in general to the reformed rellgion.

"When any one family is divided into two branches, the one adhering to the faith of its fathers, the other enrolling itself under the standard of the new doctrines, we almost always remark a progressive decay on one side, and on the other increasing riches. . . . At Mazamet, the Elbœuf of the South of France, M. Audiganne still further says, all the chiefs of industry, except one, are Protestants, whilst the great majority of the laborers are Catholics. The latter are less educated than are the laboring Protestant families."

This mode of argument is really extraordinary. M. Audiganne cites economical facts which can easily be explained and whose law we have pointed out already, and he is careful to say that he does not attribute to religious causes a state of things which is apparently favorable to Protestants as such. What conclusion does M. de Laveleye draw from it? He audaciously divides M. Audiganne's testimony; he takes for his thesis the part favorable to Protestants, and feigns to forget the unfavorable part. In supposing that this mode of discussion is admissible in the domain of modern logic, what conclusion could M. de Laveleye draw from it? At best a fact interesting to note, viz.: that at Nîmes and Mazamet capital is in the hands of Protestants. By this mode of reasoning the Rothschilds are the depositaries of a civilization far superior to that of the Protestants of both hemispheres; the Jewish

bankers of Berlin and Frankfort are endowed with more practical intelligence than the followers of Luther, and Judaism is superior to Protestantism.

I had hoped that M. de Laveleye, in presence of the scandalous and actual revocation of the religious liberty of the Catholics in Switzerland and Prussia, would spare us the superannuated citation of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. But I have been deceived:

"Before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes," he says, "the Reformers were superior in every branch of labor, and the Catholics, who could not bear competition, forbade to them, from 1662, by several successive edicts, the practice of different industries in which they excelled. After their expulsion from France, the Protestants brought into England, Prussia, and Holland their enterprising and economical spirit; they enriched the district in which they settled. It is to reformed Latins that the Germans partly owe their progress. The refugees of the Revocation introduced different industries into England, among others that of silk, and it was the disciples of Calvin that civilized Scotland."

Calvinistic civilization in Scotland! But in the whole history of Christianity we could not find a sect whose actions have been, on the whole, more rude, intolerant and gross. We have already raised a corner of the veil which they wish to throw over the former situation of Scotland; we will tear it all off hereafter. I come to the most urgent question—the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. This impolitic act of Louis XIV. was approved neither by the cabinet of Madrid, nor

especially by Pope Innocent XI. Lord Macaulay and Ranke, who agree on this point, even quote these remarkable words which came from the Court of Rome: "Christ never used such means; we ought to lead men towards the Church, and not drag them to it." It behoves, moreover, neither the fierce Calvinists of Geneva and Scotland, nor the intolerant German Lutherans, nor the tyrannical Anglicans to reproach with an act of intolerance King Louis XIV, who did against the Reformers of his kingdom, for political rather than religious reasons, what they themselves have done and are still doing, through blind hatred against Catholics, throughout the whole extent of Europe. The King of France invoked the theological thesis, and in overturning the hypothesis of the religious liberty of the dissenters, he was not proud of the principles of the Reformation on liberty of worship. With regard to the economical side of the expulsion of the Huguenots, many reflections might be made. I will confine myself to contesting the facts cited by M. de Laveleye by referring him to the article devoted by M. A. d'Avril in the *Revue des Questions Historiques* (vol. xv., 1874) to the work of M. de Segur Dupeyron, formerly French consul at Antwerp, entitled: "*Histoire des negociations maritimes et commerciales de la France aux dix-septième et dix-huitième siècles considérées dans leurs rapports avec la politique générale.*" M. de Segur blames the act of Louis XIV, attributes the momentary decline of French industry during the second half of the reign of the "great king" to the misfortunes of war, and denies that the prosperity of

other countries has been the work of the French refugees. The draperies of Friesland date from the Carlovingian epoch; in the beginning of the sixteenth century Amsterdam and Leyden produced 24,000 pieces of cloth every year; the weaving of wool was introduced into England by Flemish workmen two centuries before the preachings of Luther; seventy-one years before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes workmen from Aix-la-Chapelle introduced into Amsterdam new processes of manufacturing woollen goods; twenty-five years before this same Revocation the fabrication of silk was already carried on in Holland. It was Dutch and Flemish workmen who introduced into Sedan and the South the perfected methods for weaving woollen thread.

It was towards 1521 that Lombard workmen brought into France the industry of silk. From 1629 to 1681 it was organized in England, notably at London when it gave employment to 4000 workmen; in 1713, twenty-eight years after the Revocation, the number of these workmen had not increased. A diplomatic letter of 1686 establishes that the industries of flax and hemp had been perfected in England by *Catholic* workmen who came from France. In 1713 the English manufactures were incapable of sustaining competition with the French; this fact is evident from the petitions addressed to the Parliament of England against the treaty negotiated at Utrecht.

The same was the case in Holland. The author of the "*Histoire des refugiés Protestants*" says: "The industry practised by refugees was less durable in Holland than their brilliant beginnings had led people to ex-

pect. The manufactures of silk, linen cloth, hats and paper which they had created were beginning to languish from the first half of the eighteenth century (that is to say, after the establishment of peace)." The same author adds that woollen goods, tanneries and sugar refineries preserve in our days the improvements they received at that epoch; but M. de Segur denies this assertion, and he shows that all the present perfections of these industries are far posterior to 1685. Finally, this is the conclusion of the "*Histoire des Refugiés Protestants*": "The manufactures established by the French exiles could not fail to perish by degrees. Even the manufacture of silks flourished until the end of the War of the Succession in Spain (1713). Peace once reestablished, the silks of France, less costly and more elegantly finished, soon resumed their former superiority over the markets of Holland." Is it clear? Is not M. de Segur authorized in concluding thus: "In presence of French competition, the Protestant refugees were powerless, or nearly so, to reëstablish anything durable either in England or in Holland."

In Prussia, where enormous advantages were offered to the refugees, the industry whose development they favored could support itself only by means of exceptional and prohibitory laws. Yet we must attribute the origin of this movement to a resolution of the Elector of Brandenburg to withdraw his States from the industrial monopoly of Holland and England. With the advantageous conditions which he offered he could attract workmen from every other country.

The ancestors of MM. Ancillon, Dubois-Reymond,

de l'Estocq, de Forcade, Clairon d'Haussonville, Brassier de Saint Simon, Chapuis, Fournier, etc., in taking refuge in the Electorate of Brandenburg, sought positions in the ranks of the clergy, the civil administration and the army rather than in industry and commerce. The manufacture of silk suffered for a time in France, during the War of the Succession in Spain, but after the reëstablishment of peace neither England nor Holland could compete with French industry. English and Dutch manufactures had acquired an extraordinary development. After the conclusion of peace this industry fell, outside France, to its former level.

I think that these few indications amply suffice to reduce to their proper value the assertions of M. de Laveleye on the economical consequences of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The following assertions can still more easily be disproved:

"Compare the quota in the Exchange of the public funds of Protestant with those of Catholic States. The difference is immense. The English 3 per cent. exceeds 92; the French 3 per cent. floats about 60. The *rentes* of Holland, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden are at least at par; those of Austria, Italy, Spain, and Portugal are one-third or even one-half lower."

M. de Laveleye is not generous in throwing overboard Italy, which is the work of his friends. Before 1859, the finances of the Papal States, the kingdom of Naples, Modena, Parma, Tuscany, and principally Piedmont and even the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom were in a brilliant situation. Before the revolution of 1848, which was not fomented by Catholics, it is not,

perhaps useless to repeat it, the Metallics of Austria were above par. As to the finances of Holland they are no more Protestant than Catholic, in the same way as the financial situation of Belgium is neither the work of M. Frère nor of M. Malou. No one thinks of questioning the unheard-of splendor of England's riches. Babylon was rich; the ancient Indian princes of Mexico possessed riches which turned the brains of the Spanish conquerors; if Tiberius had asked for a loan it would have been contributed a thousand fold; Rothschild's grandfather was a poor devil; his great grandchildren will be reduced, perhaps, to moderate circumstances. Do these facts prove anything for or against Judaism? I have no desire to interest myself in M. de Laveleye's personal affairs, but I would wager that he prefers the French to the Prussian *rentes* as a speculation. When, after the next war, the so-called Lutheran Prussians will have to pay perhaps ten milliards, as the French Catholics had to pay five in 1871, we will know whether their appeal will be heard and whether the subscription, when opened, will be covered five times over. M. de Laveleye, who belongs to a family that is well versed in financial matters, has too much practical knowledge of affairs to believe seriously that we will see in the fir-tree forests which surround Varzin the financial prodigies which we have witnessed in France for the last five years.

One could not understand how M. de Laveleye dared attempt to use so weak an argument, if he had not immediately followed it by an exceedingly naïve avowal:

"To-day throughout all Germany the commerce of the

products of the mind, books, reviews, maps, journals, is almost entirely in the hands of Jews and Protestants."

M. de Laveleye is right. Protestants really hold only the second rank in this turmoil of un-Catholic civilization; the Jews occupy the first place in it, and they have deserved well of it. But then, it is not towards Protestantism that our Liberals, who were baptized Catholics and afterwards disabused, ought to direct their hearts, weary of truth and religion; it is Judaism that attracts them, and nothing remains for them to do but have themselves circumcised, so as to walk with a more steady step towards the great ideas of the future.

The "commerce of the productions of the mind" in Germany is a subject that ought not to be treated incidentally. We will speak of it more at length than M. de Laveleye deigns to do. The book trade in Germany is concentrated at Leipsic so effectually that the market of Berlin itself has tried in vain to rival the *Leipsiger Buchmesse;* but this centre of book-selling is exclusively Protestant or Jewish, so that Catholic publications are, so to say, banished from it, and Catholic booksellers have had, since 1848, to have recourse to extraordinary or special means to forward the circulation of their publications. Let us also remind M. de Laveleye (who has undoubtedly forgotten it,) that the "commerce of the productions of the mind" and that of pharmaceutical drugs have been free in the country of Luther only since 1848. The absolutism of the Leipsic market is one of the accessory

causes of the philosophical and literary decline of modern Germany and of the materialism into which the book trade is sinking deeper and deeper every day. In what catalogue of the North will you find mention made of the former Dr. Döllinger's "The Church and the Churches," a formidable work which M. de Laveleye ought to study. From the central depot are excluded not only Catholic books of which large editions are refused, as for example, the *Bonifacius Kalender*, but even a conspiracy of silence is organized against the most serious books of Protestant writers who do not fraternise with the National-Liberal party. Herr Wuttke, a Protestant of the old school, and a distinguished professor in the University of Leipsic itself, is in this situation. One of his books, "Journalism and the Formation of Public Opinion in Germany," has been pitilessly ignored, not only in the so "enlightened" Germany of the North, but even at Leipsic. This studied disdain has not prevented this work, which is highly moral in tone, from reaching its third edition which has just appeared. The periodicals devoted especially to the German book trade, loquacious and even frequently ridiculously prolix as they are, pass over Catholic publications in silence, or mention them in imperceptible characters or obscure places. This tyranny has provoked the publication of bibliographical periodicals specially destined for Catholics. Among these I take pleasure in mentioning here the *Litterarischer Handweiser* which Dr. Fr. Hulskamp and Dr. H. Rump of regretted memory, founded thirteen years ago at

Münster in Westphalia. This monthly catalogue, preceded by bibliographical and other notices, written with a rare elevation of mind and style, is a model; I recommend it to studious readers. It is a veritable classified encyclopedia with general tables of the contemporary book trade in America, England, France and especially in Germany. To my knowledge, there does not exist in contemporary literature, besides the *Polybiblion* and the *Bibliographie Catholique* of France, a periodical superior to the *Litterarischer Handweiser*. The exclusivism of the Leipsic market has, moreover, benefited the Catholic book trade; since 1848 Germany is covered with Catholic book-stores, of which several now enjoy a European reputation. There is no longer a city of any importance in the Catholic or mixed countries which does not possess one, two, or even three Catholic book-stores.

The intolerance of Protestant and Jewish merchants has been imitated by the authors of the encyclopedias published with more or less bustle at Leipsic, or elsewhere. One of the latest and strangest examples of this partiality unworthy of science has been recently given by Schelling's son-in-law, Herr G. Waitz, in his encyclopedia of German historical science. If the reader desires to form an idea of the degree of partiality shown by the most famous writers of the dominant school, he will read with fruit and even with cheerfulness the brilliant article devoted to this denial of justice in the learned Mayence review, *Der Katholik*, of October, 1875.

Since the appearance of M. Wuttke's book, a certain

amount of audacity is required to defend the anti-Catholic German press, which is, so to say, entirely in the hands of Jews, in a country that has become forever famous for the "reptile funds." The Catholic press, daily or periodical, is inferior in nothing to the Jewish, Protestant, or free-thinking press. There is not in all Germany a non-Catholic journal superior in its management to the courageous, erudite, witty and energetic organ of the Catholics of Berlin, the *Germania*. This paper has become a power at the gates of the chancery of the empire. Bismarck himself boasted publicly of the skilful management of the *Germania*, and did not constrain himself from one day branding certain editors of his own officious journals with the epithet of swineheards (*sauhirten*). If our liberals admire the Cologne *Gazette*, I venture to say that the *Kœlnische Volkszeitung*, published by M. Bachem, at Cologne also, is one of the most complete journals to be found in Europe. There is not a locality of the least importance, either in the South or in the North, Catholic or mixed, in which a Catholic journal has not been started since 1848, since there exists a certain degree of liberty of the press in the country of Luther, while most of the German journals, with the exception of the *Neue Preusissche Zeitung*, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, and some other rare independent papers, are devoted to the government, all the Catholic journals, to the number of about 300, maintain a most dignified attitude, and set the noblest examples of liberty. Without subsidy, without the reptile funds, without support from "people of importance," the Catholic jour-

nals develop and prosper, and yet they are incessantly prosecuted and even confiscated; the *Germania* has already had the honor of seeing five of its editors condemned to imprisonment in three years; the whole strength of the government, the entire influence of the police and all the zeal of the bar are directed against the development of the Catholic press, which is full of life and vigor, so that the *Novelles*, which the Prussian government lately proposed to introduce into the penal code appear to have no other object in view than to crush Catholic journals and to justify once more these words of J. de Maistre: "Unless error is maintained by proscriptions, it will never hold its own against truth." There is not in all Germany a periodical review that has more influence on public opinion than the *Historical and Political Papers*, of Munich, the "yellow book," conducted with so much talent by Herren Joerg and Binder, and established with so much brilliancy by Joseph Gœrres, the great Catholic writer whom Napoleon I. surnamed the "sixth power." Since the death of Gœrres, Schlegel, Eichendorf and Grillparzer the Austrian, all Catholics, and H. Heine, who was a Jew, mention for me one great German writer. German literature is tossed about between a certain materialistic originality and an imitation of the defects of the French literature of the present day: literary mediocrity is the fashion. The language of Schiller, which Prince Bismarck introduced so proudly into German diplomacy accredited abroad, is making no progress; it swarms with neologisms that are not understood by the people, and words and phrases

borrowed from the English and French. But lately, when the German Government communicated with the Belgian Cabinet, three of us (of whom two were Germans) spent a whole evening in making out the meaning of a few phrases, as if there was question of a satire of Persius or an Assyrian inscription. Who are the orators in the Parliament of Berlin? Herr Lasker, a Jew, and Bismarck, a sceptic who stammers and speaks hesitatingly, as some timid people fire a revolver. The Centre contains a whole group of orators and debaters — Herr Windhorst, the "pearl of Meppen;" Herren P. and August Reichensperger, the Baron von Schorlemer-Alst, the "captain" of the Westphalian peasants; Canon Moufang, Dr. Joerg, one of the most satirical speakers of new Germany, &c.

If you descend from this lofty eminence to the level of the people you will soon be convinced that there is in reality no political life except among the German Catholics. The entire Catholic people move and live with their priests and deputies. They alone display that political maturity which inspires energy in the defence of right, calm in passive resistance and perseverance in measured and dignified protest. None but the Catholics have made a loyal use of the parliamentary regime; their adversaries have derived from this regime only instruments of power and oppression; by a scandalous abuse of the right of majorities, they have brought into disrepute the representative institutions which, moreover, preserved their roots only in Catholic countries whilst they have been forgotten in the Marches of Brandenburg ever since the sixteenth century.

The parliamentary *Centre* at Berlin has behind it as many voters as the three times more numerous majority of their Liberal adversaries. In effect, ninety-nine per cent. of the Catholic voters vote at elections, whilst the Liberals obtain scarcely fifty per cent. of the suffrages. The German Liberals consoled themselves on one occasion by calling the Catholic voters an "electoral herd of cattle." In truth this is too much boasting for a party to which Prince Bismarck, the master of the situation, gave one day to understand that his members were elected only in his name; in effect, this happy statesman really represents, in his own person, outside the Catholic ranks, the entire political life of Germany. The National Liberals are Bismarck's "electoral herd of cattle." Is it necessary to continue this demonstration still further, after the confession which this latter and his faithful colleague, Herr Falk, made when bringing forward their May Laws? They confessed that they were powerless to fight the Catholics whilst they let the Church enjoy liberty, and they appealed to brute force. At this juncture, thanks to the complicity of power and of the so-called Protestants of the National-Liberal party, Catholics are pursued like wild beasts, and innumerable compliments and favors are heaped upon the lukewarm disciples of Luther. Are the Catholic Church and her faithful subjugated, and is Protestantism making progress? You do not believe it yourself! No; a thousand times no; Catholics are not what you say they are, or what you desire they should be. Unable to conquer them, you have tried to poison their

faith, and this important undertaking having failed, you wish to demolish their Church. It was M. Thiers, I think, who once said, "Those who feed on the Catholic priest die of it." I know not when this phenomenon of political digestion will manifest itself in Germany. In any case, if the Jews and Protestants have in their hands the commerce of intellectual works, which is partially inexact, Catholics certainly have, so to say, the actual monopoly of the great spiritual works in Germany.

"The Reformation," concludes M. de Laveleye, "has communicated to the countries that have adopted it a vigor of which history can scarcely take account." He then pronounces a pompous eulogy on the Netherlands, Sweden, England and the United States,* whose material victories and recent prosperity he contrasts with the fallen greatness of Spain, the modern revolutions of France, and the recent defeats of the House of Austria. All this mode of argument is a victorious demonstration of the error into which prejudice plunges M. de Laveleye. If Spain, France and Austria have at certain periods occupied the foremost rank in what we call the family of nations, it is shown that the Catholic religion opposes no obstacle to a nation's temporal greatness. If, on the other hand, Holland and Sweden have also at a certain epoch,

* In the French edition Prussia and the following passage of the first edition have been omitted: "Protestant Prussia conquers two empires, each twice as populous as itself, the first in seven weeks, the second in seven months." This military argument is truly surprising from the pen of an economist. In the beginning of this century Prussia was beaten in a single day at Jena. Was that the fault of Dr. Luther?

which exists no longer, exercised a preponderating influence in the political world, it is clear that Protestantism is not a safeguard against decay. How is it that M. de Laveleye has not seen the effect of such a mode of reasoning? He prophesies also against the Catholic Church that in two centuries Asia will belong to the schismatic Sclaves — Cesaro–popism would be, therefore, superior even to Protestantism, since the Russians would succeed in in driving the English from Asia. "Two centuries ago," says our author, "the supremacy belonged without dispute to the Catholic States. The others were only second-rate powers. To-day, put France, Austria, Italy and South America on one side, and on the other, Russia, the German Empire, England and North America, evidently the predomiannce has passed to the heretics and *schismatics.*" Such, then, is the influence which the prestige of success and strength exercises over men who believe themselves to be more clear-sighted. In effect, Italy, "a geographical expression," exists as a kingdom dear to the Liberals only since 1859; until 1866, no one said that Austria was inferior to Prussia: France, to which M. de Laveleye owes his reputation, is disdainful to certain philosophers only since 1870; the German Empire dates from yesterday and does not yet enjoy the conditions of stability; Russia, which preserved its equanimity, amid the mortifications of its defeats and powerlessness, became, suddenly and without exhibiting any effort, the arbiter between the powers of Europe. Why? Because it was not Catholic? Evidently not, but because, in a balance of

perfect equilibrium, two pounds of powder, whether manufactured by Protestants, Catholics or Greeks, always gain the advantage over one pound. In other words, Russia is at this moment the arbiter of the balance of power in Europe. Perhaps Austria will be so to-morrow; and after to-morrow, Italy. Who knows but that the turn of Spain will come again, perhaps, next.

The attempt to combat the Church with economical formulas is not new. M. Napoleon Roussel, a French Protestant pastor, had, already twenty years ago, tried to use this tin armor at his own expense. His book, "*Les Nations Catholiques et les Nations Protestantes Considérées sous le triple rapport du Bien-être, des Lumières et de la Moralité*," is already forgotten. But the criticism with which it was honored by a witty sceptic, M. John Lemoinne, of the French Academy, has lost none of its freshness. I take the liberty of reproducing it here almost entire, from Mgr. de Ségur's excellent little book, entitled "*Causerie sur le Protestantisme d'aujourd'hui*:"

"We opened this book with the desire of saying all the good we could of it, but with the best will in the world it is impossible for us to consider it either as a good book or as a good action. The author . . . has compiled a book which advocates, to say the least, the crudest, the most senseless, and the most desperate materialism. In truth; if *a minister of the Gospel* has only this sort of morality to present to the world; if, Protestant or Catholic, whatever he may be, he has no other conclusion to draw from history, then the only thing men

have to do is to live highly, conduct themselves with decorum and manage their affairs carefully; the richest are always the most virtuous. Such reading as this grieves the heart.

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"M. Roussel had the intention of comparing Catholic with Protestant nations under the threefold relation of well-being, intellect and morality. In this comparison, unfortunately, morality, which ought to have a right to the first place, occupies only the last and least important; intellect holds the second rank, and, as in the title well-being is prominent, it struts along in a gaudy manner.

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"In two volumes M. Roussel demonstrates, with large reinforcements of figures, that Protestants are infinitely better off in this world than Catholics—that they have more revenues, more industries, more securities, more linen and more boots. Until the present moment we always believed that at the last judgment God would put the good on one side and the bad on the other; but in M. Roussel's system humanity is divided into two other categories, that of *fat*, and that of *thin people;* God will no longer try the reins and hearts, but the stomachs. If M. Roussel allowed St. Peter to guard the entrance to heaven, he would certainly give him instruction, as at the Tuileries, to allow no one to pass in but the well-behaved and well dressed. In the Protestant theology, a decent appearance is the one thing necessary for salvation.

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"We must see with what complaisance M. Roussel scores up the accounts of all Catholic and Protestant countries; it is partly a double entry system of book-keeping. "On the ground of well-being, M. Roussel and Protestantism reign as masters. They are the richest. Look, for example, at the figure which this sad and wretched Ireland presents by the side of her Protestant sisters! M. Roussel gives us, after an official report, the statistics of a parish of four thousand inhabitants—all Catholics, he is careful to add; and these four thousand Catholics possess between them one cart, one plough, sixteen harrows, eight saddles, two side saddles, seven table forks, ninety-three chairs, two hundred and forty-three stools, twenty-seven geese, three turkeys, two hair mattresses, eight straw mattresses, eight bronze candlesticks, three watches, a school, a priest, no hats, no clocks, no boots, no turnips, no carrots. Let us stop a little in this enumeration; M. Roussel cites entire pages of it; and after having gone through with this kind of hospital visiting, he triumphantly exclaims: 'Let us cross the channel, and after having seen Catholic Ireland and its miseries, contemplate Protestant Scotlandand its prosperity.'

"Like people who have the jaundice, and to whom everything appears yellow, M. Roussel goes searching through Catholicism even into corners where one would have never imagined that he could nestle. He cites, for example, the story of a pugilistic scene which occurs in Ireland, the combatants thrashing each other soundly, the witnesses refreshing them with vinegar, and making them swallow some whiskey, finally all

the customary accompaniments to this kind of exercise. But can you guess where the scandal lies? It is that these Irish fight with sticks instead of striking each other with the fists, as *the noble professional boxers of England do!* M. Roussel gravely cites this fact as an example of the grossness of Irish and Catholic manners. How different from those *noble Protestant* boxers and from those admirable fisticuffs undoubtedly inspired by faith! Set two boxers at it, one Catholic and the other Protestant, one will be distinguished from the other by the greater or less vigor of his elbows: this is a new criterion of which we never dreamt before.

"Continuing his tour of the world, M. Roussel subjects Catholic and Protestant Switzerland to the same process of comparison. A traveller comes into a Catholic canton and his first remark is: 'what nastiness! what a yellow, black, and livid tinge!' It is agreed that all Catholics are yellow. Here is another impression of travel; we quote it: 'By two o'clock we arrived at Fluelen; this patch of Catholicism was announced to us by four wennish creatures, six scabby wretches, half a dozen miserable devils in rags who appeared to have come out of the grave . . .' We see that this is better and better; a little while ago the Catholics were *yellow*, now they are all *scabby*. Let us turn our eyes away from this sickening spectacle and hasten to relieve them by the sight of a Protestant land. 'How many dales! what cultivation!' exclaims M. Roussel. 'How much abundance and industry! Zurich and its beautiful environs appear to me

to be the home of wisdom, moderation, comfort and happiness . . . We entered a cottage where the mistress of the house offered us milk and cherries, and placed on the table nine or ten large silver spoons.' . . . Are you listening attentively! Ten silver spoons! What holy people! It is not these *scabby* Catholics, these *livid* folks, that could show so many of them. Do you wish to follow M. Roussel into Spain! There once more, with a numerous reinforcement of quotations, he will prove to you that the roads are badly kept, that the inns are dirty, and that they eat off pewter vessels; he will then compare this land of Catholicism with that land of Protestantism, England, which, in its turn, is mentioned in connection with its silver services, its railways, its linens, etc,

"We do not confine ourselves to accompanying M. Roussel through all his peregrinations, we do not deny the exactitude of his reckonings, and we leave to Protestantism the benefit of its plate. But did M. Roussel, when he travelled in Ireland, for example, never experience the least remorse of conscience? Has he never asked himself whether Protestants had not some hand in the misery of this Catholic country? If the Protestants represent no more than a tenth of the population of Ireland, with what right did they lay a heavy hand on all the property and revenues of the Catholic Church? And when M. Roussel, to prove that Catholics are no longer oppressed in Ireland, tells us that they have four archbishops, twenty-three bishops, 2,500 churches, and more than 2,000 priests, how is it that he does not express a little admiration

for this nation of mendicants which finds means in its misery to support its churches, whilst the Protestant bishops and ministers live sumptuously and plentifully on the profits of confiscation? How is it that a minister of the Gospel is forgetful of these simple words:

'Amen, I say to you, this poor widow hath cast in more than all they who have cast into the treasury. For all they did cast in of their abundance; but she of her want cast in all she had, even her whole living.'

"But M. Roussel has kept for France the most brilliant, the most invincible of all his arguments. Listen to it: 'Persecuted for centuries, despoiled of their possessions, French Protestants should be to-day, not on a level with, but even far below the rest of the nation in regard to riches. Is it so? If we wished to consult only public opinion, we might say that the conscience of the reader has answered already.'

"We entreat you to admire, in passing, the singular duty that *conscience* performs here; but let us allow the author to continue:

"'But we desire to assert nothing, not even what is evident, without basing our assertions on documents. Those which we have produced on this subject are authentic and of the greatest importance.'

"Here we trembled for Catholicism. What is going to become of it? Let us re-assure ourselves; it is a bag of crowns, only a shower of big pennies. M. Roussel explains to us in detail that he procured the amount of the quota mobilier, paid by the Protestants of the Department of the Seine. The list is lithographed; it is in his hands, and on this basis he finds

that the average paid by all the inhabitants of Paris is 33 francs and 4 centimes, and the average paid by Protestants, 87 francs 1 centime. 'Thus,' he says, 'French Protestants possess three times more riches than their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen.' After such a blow Catholicism ought to surrender; unquestionably it will never get over the quota mobilier. But why has not M. Roussel, whilst he was in the humor of making out accounts, also consulted the quota paid by another portion of the population, to whom we have no intention of saying anything hurtful, but who generally pass for being very well quoted—we wish to speak of the Jews. Who knows but that he might have found the Israelites still richer, and consequently still more virtuous than the Protestants?

"But, once more, we do not wish to contest M. Roussel's figures, nor disturb his triumph. We leave him to mount on his Protestant pyramid of five franc pieces and there sing his *Gloria in Excelsis*. *Somebody* has said: 'Amen, I say to you that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. And again I say to you: It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.' We could make some other quotations which would be equally as good as those of M. Roussel, but we are not competent to preach a sermon. M. Roussel, perhaps, sincerely believed that he was writing a moral and religious book; sectarian bigotry has blinded him, and we regret having to repeat that his conclusions are essentially materialistic."

CHAPTER IV.

CATHOLICS AND COLONIZATION.

The Pretended Sterility of Catholic Communities—What is called Colonizing—Catholics in the Philip pine Islands—In China—The British Colonies—The Dutch Colonies—Catholics in the United States—The Colonies of the Catholic Missionaries—Belgian Missionary Colonists.

After this strange conclusion, M. de Laveleye loses all self-control. He writes:

"Nations subject to Rome appear to be afflicted with sterility; they no longer colonize; they have no power of expansion. The words employed by M. Thiers to depict their religious capital, Rome, *viduitas et sterilitas*, might be equally applied to them. Their past is brilliant, but the present is dark and the future disquieting."

Viduitas et sterilitas! Is it really M. Thiers who dared to express himself thus? M. Thiers, a childless man, whose whole life has been fruitful only in revolutionary inspirations, who has labored for the ruin of all the powers which have been contemporaneous with him in France, including his own among the rest. M. Thiers, the widower of two governments which he had espoused, after a long interval, in 1840 and 1870, M. Thiers who, according to Von Arnim, "crosses rivers on a tight-rope laid alongside a first-rate bridge," would dare to speak to us of the widowhood and barrenness of the Rome of the Popes? The Rome of the Popes was never less a widow and more fruitful than at

the present moment. Never, at any period of history have the eyes of mortals, throughout the two hemispheres, been turned with more love or more hatred towards Rome, the See of Peter, *Capitoli immobile saxum.* Is it to admire the ruins of the city of the Cæsars or to study the projects of Garibaldi that multitudes of pilgrims set out every day, so to speak, from every part of the world? Leave the triple crown out of the question if you will, but answer this: is there in the universe another man who bears the mark of royalty on his brow in a more remarkable manner than does Pius IX? Is there, I do not say in this century alone, but in the last six centuries, a Pope whose teachings, simple recommendations and entire pontificate have been more fruitful? The reëstablishment of the Catholic hierarchy in Holland and England, the organization of more than fifty new dioceses in America, the foundation of the great Church of the United States, that of Australia, that of Tasmania, etc., etc., the colossal work accomplished by the Congregation of the Propaganda — dare you call these prodigies acts of sterility? Never has the Spouse of Christ, the Church, been more closely united with the Pope; do the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, the Council of the Vatican, the constitution *Dei Filius*, a masterpiece of philosophy on the relations of reason and faith, the constitution *Pastor Æternus*, the encyclicals *Mirari vos* and *Quanta cura*, thrown like a challenge to the triumphant Liberalism of this century, and twenty other important documents addressed

urbi et orbi constitute acts of powerlessness? At what epoch have schisms and heresies been less dangerous to the unity of the Universal Church? It is sufficient, in reply, to consider the Old Catholics benumbed in the midst of the greatest military power now in the world. There reigns in the Catholic Church so great an affection for the Pope, and the action of the Pope in the government of the Universal Church is so fruitful, that it is really puerile on the part of its adversaries to attempt to deny facts so palpable. I could understand, from a certain point of view, how a sincere adversary might be a little frightened at so ominous a situation, but I do not really know how to qualify the brutal denial of a fact which stares us in the face and is in reality invisible only to the blind.

Nationalities submitted to Rome no longer colonize. But, great God, who, I ask, still continue to colonize outside Catholic peoples? To whom do we owe, so to say, all the colonies that exist in the world, if it is not to Catholics? I assert that there never was but one Church which knew, and which still knows, how to colonize, and this is the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church. I am sorry to have to speak thus to Prof. de Laveleye whose economical ideas are going to be put to a severe test. In the historical meaning of the word, to colonize a country is to confer upon it the benefits of civilization. The Spanish adventurers who turned America to profit in the sixteenth century, and the Anglo-Saxon pirates or traders who, in the last and even in the present century, "colonized" certain countries by first depopulating them of their native inhab-

itants, we will not call colonists. No one professes more respect than I do for the civil virtues of the English and Dutch, but it is not to their colonial policy that I will go to look for new motives for admiration. The most beautiful colonies known in the history of modern times down to the French Revolution are due to Spain, Portugal and France, acting at epochs when, contrary to M. de Laveleye's theory, these Catholic countries were precisely more "subject to Rome," at least formally, than they are to-day; but these colonies began to get rid of the influence of the mother country precisely at the moment when the latter was becoming less "submissive to Rome," in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in the age of Voltaire, the Encyclopædists, the persecutors of the Jesuits, Pombal, Aranda, Choiseul and Mirabeau. I have not to re-write here this lamentable history; every one knows with how much skill the Dutch and English took advantage of this situation to wrest such flourishing establishments from the Catholics. The Spanish and Portuguese colonies resisted separation from their mother country, so to say, until the departure of the last Jesuit. All the ancient colonies, in spite of the ravages that the Liberal ideas caused in them, still bear the traces of the splendor of the time when they were more "submissive to Rome." The Catholic Spaniards, Portuguese and French did not begin by proscribing the indigenous inhabitants; they baptized them, "elevated" them, intermarried with them; in a word, they colonized like Christians. Neither the English, nor even the Dutch have in any way followed these exam-

ples. They built counting houses and carried on a profitable trade. What am I saying? They have everywhere destroyed, as much as it lay in their power, the flourishing Christian communities founded, in the East especially, by the religious Portuguese, Spaniards and French. The history of the Christian colonization realized in the Indies and Japan by St. Francis Xavier, is morally admirable and materially ten times more astonishing than the expedition of Alexander of Macedonia. Have you, then, never read it? And were not the exploits of the Franciscans and Jesuits in China, those Christian epics, related to you on your mother's knee? or have you never perfumed the intellect of your children with them? When English and Dutch Protestants arrived, all this nascent civilization was destroyed, to be replaced by mere traffic; what remained of it was spoiled by the European Liberals, by Aranda, Pombal and others. Ah! if you desire to make the apology of the Catholic Church, attract public attention to colonization, to the missions, to the Propagation of the Faith, to its Annals, to the Work for the Propagation of the Faith, to the Congregation of the Propaganda at Rome, a colossal, humanitarian and universal institution which bears the stamp of divinity.

An English writer, Mr. T. W. M. Marshall, has written on this subject a work, entitled "Christian Missions." I know no treatise on political or social economy that gives more complete information or more luminous instruction on the true riches of Christian nations, or on the conditions of civilization among peo-

ples "sitting in the shadow of death." I have just read over again in this excellent book the paragraph relating to the Philippine Islands, one of those favored corners of the world, like the Tyrol, so much despised by M. de Laveleye. In 1858 Mr. Crawford, formerly governor of Singapore, made the following declaration at a meeting for the Protestant missions: "In the Philippine Islands the Spaniards have converted to the Catholic Faith several millions of the natives, and an immense amelioration in their social condition has been the consequence."* Sir H. Ellis, a Protestant hostile to Catholics, acknowledges, in his "Journal of an Embassy to China" (Chapter viii., page 442), that "great praise is due to the Spaniards for the *establishment of schools throughout the entire colony*, and for their unceasing efforts to propagate Christianity by the best of means—*the diffusion of Christian instruction.*" Mrs. Morell, the wife of an American captain, expresses herself thus about Manilla in her "Impressions of Travel": "In Manilla there are more convents than in any other city in the world of equal population, and both natives and foreigners are unanimous in acknowledging that they follow excellent rules. All appear to be occupied in useful work; idleness is banished from among them. . . . Born a Protestant, I believe that I will die a Protestant, but henceforward I will be more charitable towards all those who profess to love God and religion, whatever may be their form of belief." Another Amer-

* The *Times* of the 2d of December, 1858.

ican writer addressed the following report to Mr. C. J. Ingersoll: "The colony is very flourishing. Nearly all the Tagalos and Horaforos natives have been converted to the Catholic faith. There are three suffragan bishops in the province; one of them, the Bishop of New Segovia, in the Isle of Luçon, wrote to me in 1837 that his diocese contained more than 600,000 Christians." Let the reader, adds Mr. Marshall, compare these results with the history of the Dutch and English missions in the Indian archipelago. The influence of the clergy in the Philippines, in spite of the small proportion of the Spaniards to the natives, is attested by very many writers. Sir John Bowring, whom we knew at Brussells to be far from "clerical," wrote in 1859: "The Catholic clergy exercise an influence which would appear magical if it was not regarded as divine by their partisans."

In his "Recollections of Manilla and the Philippines," Mr. Robert MacMicking, a determined Protestant, since he is a Scotchman, speaks thus, in 1861, of the Philippine Islands, where he resided for several years: "The natives were not subjected to Spain by her warriors, nor by her steel-clad knights, but by the soldiers of the cross, by the priests who inflamed them with their own ardor for the cause of Christ." He acknowledges also that the suppression of the Jesuits, who were banished from the Islands in 1768, had the most disastrous effects *on commerce and agriculture.* "The Church," he adds, "has proved for a long time that it was the least expensive and the most efficacious instrument of order and good government at the same time;

that it taught the people to read at least their prayer-books and other manuals of piety. There are very few Indians who know not how to read, and I remarked that the inhabitants of Manilla serving on board of vessels and making up their equipage are much more frequently capable of signing their names than the English mariners in the Philippines." *There are very few Indians who know not how to read.* And this result has been obtained in a *magically* clerical country, as Sir John Bowring would say, in a country that has become Spanish, without any *liberal association, education league,* or the panacea of the "gratuitous-lay-obligatory" instruction. *Strange, very strange.* Mr. MacMicking concludes his report with this appreciation of the *present* Spanish missionaries:

"These generous men have penetrated where the soldiers dared not enter with arms in their hands, and it is true to say that the sword has given way to the gown with the best consequences, in submitting these savage Indians to the Roman Catholic faith, *by introducing the arts and civilization among them.* Hundreds, I will say even thousands, of these savages, are now peaceful cultivators, having learned from these good Fathers how to till the soil, instead of living, as they had done previously, on the products of the chase, and in perpetual hostility with one another."*

"The nations subject to Rome appear to be afflicted with sterility; they no longer colonize." Here, says

* *Christian Missions*, by T. W. M. Marshall. See also, in the *Revue Générale* for 1874, vol. 19 page 331, a very interesting article by M. J. de Petit, entitled, "*Souvenirs des Iles Philippines.*

M. de Laveleye, is an example of it taken at hazard:

"The Count de Beauvoir arrives at Canton; he there sees an islet, Sha-Myen, situated in the middle of the river, and ceded to France and England. The traveler is struck with the contrast which the part ceded to England bears with that which belongs to France. In six years (1867) there are already a little English village, a Protestant church, a cricket ground, a race course, spacious villas, and magnificent *godowns* for the great theiferous houses of China. A roadway seperates the British from the French territory. On ours there are clumps of uncared trees, nuisances, wandering dogs, cats, moles, but not a single house."*

This example, *taken at hazard*, is very unhappily chosen. I suppose that M. de Laveleye does not consider as colonizers the English merchants who go to Canton to try and carry on a profitable business. If the cricket-ground, whose description delights him, belongs to Protestant missionaries, we must confess that he might find a fitter object for his admiration; for French Catholic missionaries have something else to do in China besides playing cricket on the sea-shore; they penetrate into the interior to become martyrs after having preached the Christian faith and "colonized" China. Herr Schaepman has, moreover, already refuted this whim of M. de Beauvoir, by citing another passage from the book of this Catholic gentleman, the travelling companion of the Duc de Penthièvre, a descendant of St. Louis:

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* *Voyage autour du Monde*, vol. 2, p. 427.

"If I am afflicted since leaving Singapore at seeing how poor French commerce is in the extreme East, and how the tricolor appears but as a *rara avis in terris*, the general impression made on me bears at present less the character of despair and more that of consolation. Yes, it is true ; England, the queen of the seas, is material mistress of the Asiatic empires by her colossal commerce; she imports into them her bales of cotton, and exports teas and silks for the million ; but France is the country of ideas, and she brings them even into the most unknown regions of China. Let us help on as much as we can this moral force, vivifying and inexhaustible, exalted by the purity and poverty of its agents, illustrated by martyrs and corroborated by faith !"*

One is also quite naturally induced by this little incident, which is not wanting in interest, to open the recent *book* of a statesman, very well known in Europe, the Baron von Hübner, formerly Austrian ambassador at Paris. One of our friends has spoken of this work of Von Hübner, as it deserved, in explaining for what motives the opinion of the author had so much authority in this matter. Baron von Hübner begins by affirming that a nation can be great without having the vocation of colonizing in the modern sense of the word ; then he says :

"Besides, what is the meaning of colonization? Is it merely the clearing of the soil? In this point of view the colonies of Louis XIV. in Canada would compare

* *Java, Siam, Canton. Voyage autour du Monde*, p. 438.

favorably with the most flourishing of those of other nations. Is it to work the ground for the profit of the immigrants? In that case the English deserve the palm which all the world allows them. But if we understand by colonization, carrying civilization into the hearts of the native population whose territory you occupy, then the Portuguese and Spaniards of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seem to me to have been the foremost colonizers in the world. Histories written—do not let us forget it—by pens which were anything but impartial, have tarnished (and justly, if the facts related be true) the reputation of the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors, and accused them of unheard-of acts of cruelty, oppression, and wrong. Even those who were reported gentle and humane employed means which our own century would not stand for a moment. But these kingdoms beyond the seas were rich and prosperous, and the capitals of the *presidencias* became the centres of civilization. The natives flocked into them, and took back to their homes, with the light of Christianity (though perhaps feeble and uncertain) the ideas and usages (though very imperfect also) of civilized life. The progress made was real and lasting. Witnesses who are beyond suspicion —travellers who, like Alexander Humboldt, have visited the Spanish colonies at the beginning of this century—that is, at a time when Spain herself had long since fallen from her rank among the first powers of Europe—speak with admiration of the organization she had left behind—of the regularity of the administrative service in these colonies—of the security and

order which reigned there, and of the wisdom of the colonial laws, drawn up and codified under the reign of the Philips. The Court of Madrid, it is true, drew from its territories beyond the seas a quantity of precious metals; but on the other hand the mother-country gave her blood. The constant emigration which finally exhausted Spain is, in truth, one of the principal causes of the rapid decadence of this noble and chivalrous nation. Even to this day the young men of certain provinces expatriate themselves in crowds. In the north, and especially in the Asturias, one only sees women and old men. The young ones are gone to Havana, Peru, or to Rio de la Plata. When traversing the hamlets buried in the gorges of the Cantabrian mountains I used to see notices put up in every direction announcing the departure of such and such ships from Santander, Gijon, and Ribadesilla, for Cuba and South America—all, it was stated, furnished with a surgeon and a chaplain. Alas! both one and the other are necessary, for in these passages the mortality is frightful. Every one of these emigrants (and formerly even more so than now) becomes, very often unknown to himself, an agent of civilization. Thus, see the results. Wherever the Spaniards have reigned we find Indian tribes who have embraced Christianity, and adopted, in a certain measure, our habits and ideas. The greater part of the politicians whom we now see at the head of their republics are of Indian origin. I have had pure redskins as colleagues; and I have seen ladies of the same color, dressed by Worth, delighting in Patti's *roulades*. I do not quote

these personages as models of statesmen; or these fair critics as great authorities in music; but the fact is none the less significant. Well, this is the work of Spanish colonization. Can one say the same thing of the effect of English emigration? Evidently not. I set aside all question of India, which I have not yet visited. But everywhere, especially in North America, the contact of the Anglo-Saxon race with semi-barbarous savages is fatal to the latter. They only adopt European vices; they hate and fly from us, and that is the wisest thing they can do; or else they perish miserably. In every way they remain what they have always been—savages. But what is the use of discussing the comparative merits of different nations? Rather let us render to each their due."*

Farther on Baron von Hübner adds:

"France is rich enough to pay for her glory, her ideas, her caprices, and even her faults. Since the days of Louis XIV. she has held to the idea of pervading the whole earth, and striking all nations with the prestige of her greatness. The pursuance of this policy imposes upon her, it is true, in these distant regions, sacrifices which are not strictly in accordance with the material interests of her traders. But this consideration does not stop her. She has given herself the honorable and civilizing mission of protecting her co-religionists all over the world. Do not let us look too closely into her motives, which perhaps are not all purely religious. The results have been, and are, as

*A *Ramble Round the World*, by M. le Baron de Hübner, translated by Lady Herbert; p. 443 (New York, 1874.)

everyone must allow, the most important services that could be rendered to humanity.

"In the world of ideas, the French are the most expansive people in the universe. By doing both great good and some harm, they have impregnated the whole civilized world with their tastes, their ideas, and even with their fashions. But no nation has so great a dislike to leave their homes. French emigrants are the least numerous everywhere; and even those one does meet with are not (saving certain honorable exceptions) the brightest specimens of their nation. The truth is, that France offers to her children space and means wherewith to support them, to arrive at a comfortable independence, and occasionally, to riches and the highest offices in the state. Those who quit her shores rarely find, beyond them, the fortune which they have disdained to seek at home. But, side by side with these emigrants, who are not always successful, there are others, who, while living and acting in comparative obscurity, surround themselves in their distant country with an aureola of imperishable glory. In China, as in every other foreign land, wherever you see above the Consulate the French flag flying, you perceive likewise, in the neighborhood, the spire of a church, and alongside a convent, a school, a hospital. There human minds are being enlightened by civilization, and human hearts by faith; there the wounds of both souls and bodies are healed, miseries are alleviated, and the apostolic virtues of charity, love, self-abnegation, patience, and devotion are exercised in the highest degree. All these missionaries and Sisters

are not French, it is true: Italy, Spain, and Belgium have furnished their contingent; but the great majority of these Christian heroes and heroines belong to France; and it is France which shields them with her powerful protection."*

There is no writer at present who is of more authority in matters of colonization than M. X. Marmier. His last book† contains a very interesting chapter entitled: "*La France dans ses colonies.*" I borrow this quotation from it:

"Disastrous wars and lamentable treaties have taken from us most of our ancient possessions. But we have left on them a profound impression. A distinguished English writer, Anthony Trollope, recently visited the Antilles, and there he was witness of the persistency of the attachment to France in islands formerly governed by France, not uninterruptedly during centuries, but during a small number of years: Santo Domingo, Tobago, Santa Lucia, Trinidad; Trinidad, first occupied by the Spaniards, then by the English, conquered and restored to Spain by the French, then retaken anew by the English. What language, says Mr. Trollope, do you think they speak in this island in which we have a governor, an administrative council, a garrison and important counting houses? English? No. Spanish? No. But French. The whole population is French by its idioms, by its customs and by its Catholicism. To this honest avowal Mr. Trollope adds: there is a

*A Ramble Round the World, page 456.

† *En Pays Lointains*, par X. Marmier, de l'Academie Française. (Paris: Hachette, 1876.)

Catholic bishop there who receives a yearly pension from England which he distributes entirely in alms. There, as well as wherever else old France has passed, its memory is associated with the virtues of Catholicism and the spirit of charity. At St. Vincent we may note another example of the attraction of our emigrants. The English having taken possession of this island, the Carribees, who occupied a portion of it, rose in arms on three different occasions to expel them, and call back the French, whose domination they longed for."

The witty academician has brought together a host of facts of this kind. All have for object to prove the following thesis :

"It has been often said : France knows not how to colonize. Should we admit this reproach without contesting it? The other nations are pleased with proclaiming their merits. We indolently let ours be depreciated, and sometimes we depreciate them ourselves. We have been accused of abandoning ourselves to futile vanities. It would be better for us to maintain ourselves in a just degree of pride. The history of our colonies is one of the noblest and often one of the most attractive pages of our annals. It has been eloquently and learnedly told on different occasions and in different places. I have no intention of retracing a new sketch of it. In collecting together my memories of travel, in adding to them recent studies, I would only show, by a few characteristic traits, the particular qualities of colonization with which France has been gifted on all occasions. Hardihood in enter-

prise, generosity in victory, dignity in misfortune. Other nations have achieved more brilliant or more lasting successes. None has shown such virtues."

M. X. Marmier's testimony is at least worth that of M. Thiers, who, forty years ago, wittily mocked the future of railways, and still believes, even to this day, in custom houses. The colonies of the French missionaries in the present century recall the glory of the great *Descubradores* of the Iberian peninsula, and Algeria, colonized by the French within the last forty-five years, bears comparison with all the conquests made by the Anglo-Saxons since the reign of Louis XV. Father Marquette first explored the Meschacébé, which Robert Lasalle afterwards descended to give to France Louisiana, where Bienville afterwards founded New Orleans. Champlain laid the foundations of the city of Quebec. This is how M. X. Marmier describes the foundation of Montreal:

"In 1641 two small vessels set out from La Rochelle for Canada. On one of these ships was a holy maiden, Mlle. Manse de Langres, who renounced a brilliant position in her own country to devote herself to works of charity amid savage regions; on the other was a gentleman of Champagne, M. de Maisonneuve, a priest, some soldiers and laborers, thirty persons in all. In the month of August the good travellers arrived at Quebec. The colony of this town tried to retain them. It was composed of two hundred souls. Thirty additional heroes, what a precious reinforcement! But M. de Maisonneuve had made up his mind to go to Hochelaga, and he wished to fulfil his promise. It

was in vain that they pointed out to him the dangers to which he was exposing himself in approaching, with so small a number of soldiers, this island occupied by a considerable tribe of Indians. He answered like a valiant gentleman : 'I have not come to deliberate but to act. Should there be at Hochelaga as many Iroquois as there are trees on this plain, I am in duty and in honor bound to establish a colony there.' In the month of October he reached the coast of Hochelaga, and there constructed cabins and a chapel of wood. Mlle. Manse organized an hospital in the same place, and a Sister from Troyes founded the institution in which young girls were to be brought up gratuitously. A few tents in the midst of the woods, a chapel, sheltered with a roof of leaves, a bell suspended from the branch of a fir tree, an hospital for the sick, a school for the poor, such were the first elements of our city of Montreal, which now contains eighty thousand souls."

It is not in this wise, we must acknowledge, that the Anglo-Saxons or Dutch Protestants proceeded. One of the pearls of the colonial British empire is the island of Mauritius, which its peaceful conqueror, the Chevalier de Fougéres, commandant of the *Triton*, of Saint Malo, called the Isle of France. This valiant officer erected upon the beach a cross decorated with lilies, with this inscription:

Jubet hic Gallia stare Crucem.*

We must not grow weary of recalling these memories which are more glorious for France than all the

*"Here France bids the Cross to stand."

"conquests of '89" and the wars of the Empire. Jacques Cartier, who, with two small vessels of 60 tons, skirted the bank of Newfoundland to ascend the course of the St. Lawrence, has left us the story of his voyage. This is how he begins :

"On Sunday the day and feast of Pentecost, by the command of the captain and the good wish of all, each made his confession and all together received our Lord in the cathedral church of St. Malo, after having received which we were presented to the choir of the said church before the reverend father in God, Monsieur of St. Malo, who in his episcopal state gave us his benediction."

Father Marquette, on returning from the regions in which he had discovered the Mississippi, wrote in his narrative these admirable lines :

"When the entire journey was worth only the salvation of one soul I esteemed all my troubles well recompensed, and this is what I have reason to presume, for when on my return we passed by the Illinois, I spent three days explaining to them the mysteries of our faith through all their cabins, after which, as we embarked, they brought to me to the water's edge a dying child which I baptized a little before it died, by an admirable providence for the salvation of this innocent soul."

The whole history of the colonization of the Yankees of North America does not present us with so noble a figure as that of Montcalm, the hero of French Canada. We loudly proclaim that if Spain, Portugal and France were not allowed to become weak through the Cæsar-

ism of the Bourbons and the political doctrines which we now call Liberal, these countries would be at present what they then were and what they may become once more, the foremost colonizers in the world. The masterpiece of the colonial policy of modern England is India. But at Calcutta the English are only following, even in the inferior point of view of material interests, the examples set by France.

"The man who first saw that it was possible to found an European empire on the ruins of the Mogul monarchy was Dupleix. His restless, capacious, and inventive mind had formed this scheme, at a time when the ablest servants of the English Company were busied only about invoices and bills of lading. . . . The arts both of war and policy, which a few years later were employed with such signal success by the English, were first understood and practised by this ingenious and aspiring Frenchman."*

Ah! the nationalities subject to Rome no longer colonize! But who colonizes, then? The Prussian Lutherans? The Swiss Calvinists? The hundred sects of the United States of North America? A hundred times no. Is it England properly so-called? Is it the Anglo-Saxons of North America? Is it the Protestant portion of the people of Holland? This is what we are going to examine.

Holland, the United States, and especially England, certainly signalize themselves in our age by the

* *Critical and Historical Essays*, by Lord Macaulay. Essay on Lord Clive.

practical intelligence and energetic tenacity of their commercial and colonial policy, which we must distinguish from the civilizing and Christian work of colonization properly so-called. The actual "colonial policy" of England is the masterpiece of this great people; but this policy is neither Protestant nor Catholic, nor even anti-Catholic. It has for object the well-understood mercantile interest of Great Britain, applies to the colonies the doctrines of Adam Smith, but does not exclude the simultaneous application by private individuals of the great spiritualistic principles of colonization formerly employed so successfully by the Spaniards, Portuguese and French. Most of the colonies which England possesses to-day have been taken by her at recent dates from the Spaniards, Portuguese, French, or Dutch. One of the few colonies which it created, and which it no longer possesses, is New England, which was founded *in spite of itself*. What was this colony? It was composed of fugitives, malcontents, misanthropes, and sectaries, who removed from merry old England, which was not at all sorry to lose them. Cardinal Manning, whose great mind and noble heart pesonify for me the future of the Catholic people of England, recently reminded us of the history of the foundation of Maryland. I will trouble M. de Laveleye with this quotation:

"Lord Baltimore, who had been Secretary of State under James I., in 1633, emigrated to the American Plantations, where, through Lord Strafford's influence, he had obtained a grant of land. He was accompanied by men of all minds, who agreed chiefly in the one

desire to leave behind them the miserable religious conflicts which then tormented England. They named their new country Maryland, and there they settled. The oath of the Governor was in these terms : 'I will not, by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, molest any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for or in respect of religion.' Lord Baltimore invited the Puritans of Massachusetts, who, like himself, had renounced their country for conscience' sake, to come into Maryland. In 1649, when active persecution had sprung up again in England, the Council of Maryland, an the 21st of April, passed this statute : 'And whereas the forcing of the conscience in matters of religion has frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in the commonwealth where it has been practised, and for the more quiet and peaceable government of the province, and the better to preserve mutual love and amity among the inhabitants, no person within the province professing to believe in Jesus Christ shall be anyways troubled, molested, or discountenanced for his or her religion, or in the free exercise thereof.' The Episcopalians and Protestants fled from Virginia into Maryland. Such was the commonwealth founded by a Catholic upon the broad moral law I have here laid down — that faith is an act of the will, and that to force men to profess what they do not believe is contrary to the law of God, and that to generate faith by force is morally impossible. It was by conviction of the reason and by persuasion of the will that the world-wide unity of faith and communion were slowly built up among the nations. When once

shattered, nothing but conviction and persuasion can restore it. Lord Baltimore was surrounded by a multitude scattered by the great wreck of the Tudor persecutions. He knew that God alone could build them up again into unity; but that the equity of charity might enable them to protect and to help each other, and to promote the common weal.

"I cannot refrain from continuing the history. The Puritan commonwealth in England brought on a Puritan revolution in Maryland. They acknowledged Cromwell, and disfranchised the whole Catholic population. 'Liberty of conscience' was declared, but to the exclusion of 'Popery, Prelacy, and licentiousness of opinion.' Penal laws came of course. Quakers in Massachusetts, for their first offence, lost one ear; for the second, the other; for the third, had their tongue seared with a red hot iron. Women were whipped, and men were hanged, for religion."*

England has been severely punished, for it has lost the only countries that, before the sixteenth century, it could have the pretension of having really colonized by sending to them its own children. The punishment has been so much the more severe, as on the very territory of this lost colony it has seen a rival power arise, and one so much the more to be dreaded as it speaks the same language.

The Dutch do not possess a single colony to-day which they founded, in the sense of Catholic colonies,

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* *The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance*, by Henry Edward, Archbishop of Westminster; page 89. (New York: The Catholic Publication Society, 1875.)

that is to say, a colony in which are found all the institutions, all the manners and the religion of the mother country. Their establishment in the Indies is an immense counting house of commerce and industry defended by a powerful army ; they run to amass a fortune in the Indies, then they return to enjoy their wealth in Europe, at the Hague, at Amsterdam, at Paris, and even at Brussels. But they do not colonize in the Spanish, Portuguese or French sense of the word—I do not reproach them for it here, but since we are driven to it, we must surely point out the considerable distance that separates Catholic principles in this matter from the precepts of all the other known forms of worship.

As to the United States, directed, I acknowledge, by the political genius of the Anglo-Saxon race*, a genius which in itself belongs as well to Cardinals Manning and McCloskey and Mr. Brownson, as to Mr. Disraeli, President Grant and Mr. Gladstone ; as to the United States they especially owe their prodigious development to immigration. I have not now at hand the complete statistics of the astonishing movement of European populations towards the countries in which the sun sets to us ; but I confidently assert that one of the principal causes of the greatness of the United

*It is from his familiarity with English writers that our author is led lo think so highly of the "Anglo-Saxon race." The truth is tkat the English element is far from being the most prominent in this country, either in business enterprise or literary talent. The portion of our population which furnishes the largest contingent to the energy aud intelligence of the nation would feel anything but complimented by being called "Anglo-Saxons."

States is the immigration of Catholics. Mr. Maguire, formerly a member of the English parliament, has proved that his compatriots, the Irish Catholics, "conquered" a portion of the United States. A French Review, the *Contemporain*, lately published special statistics on emigration to the United States, which received from 1820 to 1860, 208,063 French, whilst Prussia furnished to this movement in the same space of time only 80,432 immigrants. Among these Prussians there were many Catholics, and I believe many Catholics from Luxemburg. In the grand duchy of Luxemburg there have been veritable secessions of entire villages, starting out with their pastor, burgomaster and schoolmaster.

All the new western States of the Union are peopled by Catholics. Moreover, to be convinced of the importance of the Catholic population of the United States, it suffices to consider the ecclesiastical hierarchy which has been formed in half a century: forty dioceses, half of the Church of France.

The French (Catholic) population is increasing in British Canada, where the Irish Catholics, those veritable colonizing emissaries of England, have come to settle in multitudes. To form an idea of them, consult once more the table of the Catholic hierarchy. The same remarks will do for the Cape, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, etc.

The reader may remark that I do not pretend to give to Catholics the too frequently sad privilege of emigration, I simply say that throughout the whole of the great colonizing movement, in which our age is

taking part with astonishment, among the Anglo-Saxon races, it is Catholic civilization that is leading the way. Your friends themselves are frightened at it, for I read every day in their journals the expression of the terror they feel at seeing the influence of Catholics in the elections of the United States and Canada. But lately the government of Victoria (Melbourne), one of the most flourishing colonies of Australia, was even composed of Catholics, since one of its principal personages was Mr. Duffy, the Irish member of Parliament who, twenty-five years ago, had so hard a struggle with the English government.

A former colleague of Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Forster, in a meeting held at Edinburgh, lately gave with feelings of pride a magnificent description of the immense possessions of the British Empire, and he coolly discussed the chances England had of preserving or losing India. A book might be written on this subject. I resume it thus: in presence of the actual efforts of the government at London it is to be desired that India remain a British possession, for if the English have not always accomplished on the Ganges and the Indus the duty of Christian colonizers, and if they are not doing so thoroughly even to-day, they at least no longer forbid others to accomplish it in their stead, and they are preventing a terrible anarchy among the natives. The energy, activity, intelligence and courage which the English statesmen and the army are showing for many years past in this immense Indian empire, eight times more extensive and six times more populous than the entire United Kingdom, and kept in check by a hand-

ful of Europeans, certainly presents a marvellous spectacle, which gives a high idea of the actual policy of the English monarchy. Economists may also admire the vast network of railroads and telegraph lines with which the administration of the viceroys has endowed the country, and financiers will calculate the dividends which the English residents are at present laying by after scoring up their accounts. But to all these splendors I prefer the results of the ancient Portuguese or French colonization and the present situation of the Spanish colonization in the Philippines, held in such disdain by economists properly so called.* At the risk of exciting their pity for me I add that the blustering history of the exploits of the English in India and the Chinese seas chills me when I compare it with the epic story of the heroic triumphs obtained on the same ground in the sixteenth century by St. Francis Xavier with his crucifix, and the annals which all the Catholic missionaries in Asia are even at this moment writing with their blood. No, no, I say it boldly, it is only the nations "subject to Rome," that do not appear to be stricken with sterility, and it is only they that colonize. This is the truth. Are you acquainted with the work of the Propagation of the Faith, the most colossal instrument of colonization that is known in history? It was a poor Catholic maid-servant that founded it at Lyons by picturing to her imagination an association in which each associate might pay one cent a week. This idea,

*I ought, however, to make an exception in the case of Herr Roscher. He has written a little book which is replete with facts, entitled: *Colonies, Colonial Policy and Emigration.* (Leipsic: 1856.)

so simple and so humble, has been blessed in the Catholic Church by the Sovereign Master of the colonists of all ages. These cents have germinated. They annually become millions which serve to send into every part of the earth laborers in the cause of civilization whose blood possesses the marvellous gift of fertilizing the nations that commit the crime of shedding it. *Sanguis martyrum semen Christianorum.* I know that the Protestant Churches also send out missionaries, and God keep me from criticising devoted men who undertake these missions with sincerity and self-denial. But I should be allowed to show that the results of the Protestant missions, however respectable they may be in the intentions of their promoters, cannot even be put on a comparison with the admirable fecundity of the Catholic apostolate.

And since we are on this so interesting chapter of Catholic colonization, let us inform several of our fellow-citizens that Belgium, the immense majority of whose inhabitants honor themselves also, in spite of their material prosperity, with being "subject to Rome," is as fruitful as the other Catholic nations in this propagation of Christian civilization among the most savage peoples on earth. What one of us has not heard of Father de Smet, so humble, so good, so enterprising, for the good of souls? This illustrious Jesuit, of whom our friend, Father Deynoodt, has written the life and published the letters, was, by himself alone, more powerful among the redskins of the West than was the government of the United States. His charity, inspired by the Catholic faith, subdued sav-

age nations, and when the government at Washington wished to obtain something from the former possessors of the soil of the Union, to whom did it apply? To this priest from Termonde, "subject to the voice of Rome," as M. de Laveleye would say. And who were the companions of this great man of peace, this civilizer, this veritable doctor in colonization? Father de Theux, the brother of the venerable minister whose loss we yet mourn, Father Verhaegen, the cousin of the former president of the Liberal Association of Brussels, and a hundred other Belgian priests. There is at Louvain, besides the Society of Jesus, a special American college, whose incessant labor consists in sending missionaries to America. It is to the Belgian Jesuits that has been entrusted the mission of Bengal, where our compatriots possess a flourishing college and where they render more services to the English authorities than divisions of infantry. The learned Father Carbonnelle, secretary of the Scientific Society, which has been founded at Brussels, has only just returned from this perilous mission. One of the sons of M. A. Neut, of the *Patrie*, of Bruges, has lost his health there. One of the brothers of our colleague, M. de Penaranda, died there, carried off by the severity of the climate. Twenty others of our fellow-citizens have sacrificed their health for the last fifteen years in this work of civilization, in a very unhealthy land, made famous by the labors of the first Jesuits, indefatigable laborers who are repairing with obstinacy all the ruins accumulated by savagery, the spirit of error or hatred. Allow me, in passing, to remind you

of a personal reminiscence : Professor David Forbes, F. R. S., related to me that on one of his scientific expeditions in South America he fell into the hands of a band of Indians who were already prepared to scalp him, when he was delivered by some "black robes," Jesuits, who, at the foot of the Cordilleras, 500 leagues from the Atlantic coast, were evangelizing these savages, living with them for the love of Jesus Christ and His Church, and gradually raising them to the dignity of men. The Jesuits enjoyed an absolute respect among their "friends," and Mr. Forbes pictured them to me as the foremost colonizers of modern times.

I preserve a religious remembrance of the noble Abbé Verbiest, formerly chaplain to our military school. This excellent priest, who honored me with his friendship, heard the cry of St. Francis Xavier : " Belgians, Belgians, send me Belgians." Without any resources but a moderate patrimony, Father Verbiest, in his exceeding charity (charity is the source of civilization), resolved to go and bear the words of truth to the countries to which the Franciscan Jean de Ruysbroeck, his compatriot, had formerly made his way by traversing our entire hemisphere on foot. With his first disciples, M. Van Segvelt, assistant pastor of St. Gudule, MM. Vranckx and Verlinden of Molenbeck, M. Bax of Montaign, MM. Wilrycks and Paaps of Turnhout and Hamer of Nimeguen, he founded the mission of Mongolia, of which the mother house is at the gates of Brussels, at Scheutveld on the Ninove road. Van Segvelt and Verbiest were the first to die in the Tigers' Valley, between the fortieth and fiftieth de-

grees of latitude, in a desert ; but their work of civilization still survives.* Let us not forget to mention in addition all our religious societies of women, which, under an assumed name sometimes send the female descendants of our noblest families to instruct children and convert adults in Africa, America, Australia and Asia. The mother house of the Sisters of Notre-Dame of Namur has founded more than thirty stations in the most different latitudes.

I have just hurriedly conducted the reader across the vast plain of Catholic colonization : I ask every sincere man, to whatever Church he may belong, is it reasonable to assert that Catholics no longer colonize ? I am justified in saying : either M. de Laveleye has not studied this subject, or he is blinded by hatred of the Church. I defy him also, as a last challenge, to answer this question ; which do you prefer, the Dutch Protestants who annexed to themselves the Portuguese colonies, or the English Protestants who afterwards took possession of the Dutch colonies that previously belonged to Portugal, or the Portuguese Freemasons who allowed themselves to be duped by their friends of London and Amsterdam, and have prepared for their country the loss of the great colonies which the " most faithful " nation had founded ?

* Consult *Voyages de Bruxelles en Mongolie et travaux des missionnaires de la Congrégation de Scheutveld-lez-Bruxelles* (Brussels : Coomans, 1875.)

CHAPTER V.

CATHOLICS AND CIVIL LIBERTY.

Protestant Countries have Experienced More Revolutions than Catholic Countries—The Moral Character of the Great French Revolution—Civil Liberty in Italy—In Belgium—What the Modern Protestant Liberals Mean by Political Liberty—Their Object in Preaching Protestantism in Catholic Countries—Essays by MM. Quinet and Sue—A Discussion between the Liberals on Liberty.

Prejudices disturb M. de Laveleye's ideas so much that he even goes so far as to accuse the Catholic Church of having inspired the war which the unfortunate Napoleon III. carried on in Mexico, and of having provoked the war of 1870. These historical discoveries are truly extraordinary in an associate of M. J. Klaczko. I do not think it worth while to waste my time in speaking about them. It is but right, however, to quote his argument as a curiosity:

"It was Ultramontanism that, through the Empress Eugenie, the mouth-piece of the clerical party, urged the undertaking of the expedition to Mexico, to strengthen the Catholic nations of America, and the Franco-Prussian war, to raise an obstacle to the progress of Protestant States in Europe."

A note develops this theme in the following manner:

"*This is what Prince Bismarck recently asserted in the tribune, at Berlin.* The Empress said in 1870: *It is my war.* It was she who, in the supreme council of St. Cloud, caused the war to be decided on, of

which the Emperor clearly saw the danger. This is a fact that henceforward belongs to history."

The italics in this note do not appear in the French edition. Why? I know not. Besides, it is of little importance for us to know it.

An argument just as weak as this, but more easily put in circulaiion, because the multitude is incapable of estimating its value, is the following:

"The peoples subject to Rome . . . have no power of expansion . . . Their past is brilliant, but the present is gloomy and the future disquieting. Is there any situation more heartrending than that of Spain. France, which has rendered such great services to the world, is equally well calculated to cause us sorrow . . . because it appears destined to be incessantly tossed about between despotism and anarchy. . . . Catholic countries are a prey to intestine quarrels which are consuming their strength, or which, at least, are preventing them from advancing as regularly and as rapidly as Protestant peoples."

M. de Laveleye has, in the eyes of the educated, a defect which to the "vile multitude" appears an excellence. He dogmatizes incessantly, and gives himself no trouble about proving his assertions. Either he is sure of the public he has to deal with or he despises them. I know the question here raised is very unwieldy, but he should at least develop it a little. To refute this profound historical error, or to administer the antidote to persons who have already swallowed the poison, I should have very much space at my disposal, and entertain no fear of having already abused the in-

dulgence of the reader too much. I must, however, dispose of this awkward and unjust accusation.

Protestant countries have been less free from revolution and anarchy than Catholic countries. England has undergone dreadful revolutions down to the accession of the house of Orange, and if it has been relatively peaceful since that epoch, it is at the cost of an absolute religious intolerance with regard to Catholics and of an abominable despotism applied to the Irish. The Dutch have had their periods of anarchy much oftener than the Catholic Belgians, their neighbors of the same race, and they have found calm, which, moreover, is congenial to their disposition, only in the haven of the stadtholderate. As to the Protestants of the North, especially the Prussian Lutherans, they have been peaceful until 1848, like the Assyrians or Babylonians, because they were crushed under the most oppressive civil despotism of which modern history makes mention. If we except Geneva, where Calvinistic absolutism has flourished, Switzerland has been, in general, a land of moderate civil liberty, until the Sonderbund war, in the Protestant as well as in the Catholic cantons.

I will say nothing of Catholic nations before the French Revolution. In general, since the sixteenth century, these nations have, in my opinion, had a bad civil government, but they remained faithful to order, discipline and the established authorities. Preserved, during two hundred years, from the dangers of the Reformation, they were at last dragged into the great movement of 1789, which was only the logical devel-

opment of Protestantism. Poland was the only exception; but we must not forget that it was lain in wait for like a prey by two eagles, the one white, towards the East, and the other black, towards the West, and that the cry of one of its magnates, "*malo periculosam libertatem quam otiosum servitium*,"* was a cry of defense against ravishers who finally succeeded in their criminal schemes.

A single nominally Protestant country has resisted in the present century all the tendencies to anarchy, and that is England, whose people have remained Christian, and whose government is the only one that has, since the Cæsarism of the Renaissance, preserved the type of the ancient Catholic governments of the Middle Ages. For my own part, I will not hesitate to bestow on England the praises that are due to it: on this point Catholics will owe to it a lasting debt of gratitude. England has remained for them a model and a consolation—a living model of the ancient historical Catholic institutions; a consolation, because they can point to it and say: there is where we would all be, throughout Europe, without the excesses of the Renaissance, the hatred of the sectaries of the sixteenth century, the insolence of such governments as those of Louis XIV, the Regency, and Louis XV., the corruption of our Encyclopædists, the revolutionary theories of the eighteenth century, and the Liberal doctrines of the nineteenth.

I will say nothing of Holland, for it owes the bene-

*"I prefer dangerous liberty to peaceful servitude."

fits of its peaceful and prosperous state as much to its Catholic subjects as to its Protestant citizens, and, besides, the Catholic Belgians deserve as much merit, in this matter, as the Protestant Dutch.

Switzerland, the United States of North America, and Prussia are not out of the reach of the dangers which M. de Laveleye points out : the United States are but just emerging from a dreadful civil war which may begin again to-morrow ; Switzerland is pluuged in the depths of anarchy ; and Prussia is in a rovolutionary state that will terminate in a manner which God alone foresees.

Let us speak of the present situation of South America, Spain and France : for Italy, in M. de Laveleye's estimation, has entered on the normal path to salvation. Imperfectly peopled, violently and suddenly torn from the European governments to which they owe their existence and by which they were badly governed during the eighteenth century, thanks to the complicity of Liberals like Pombal and Aranda, certain States of South America have struggled for forty years in the deadly grasp of anarchy. What are these States ? Mexico, Venezuela, and the Argentine Republic, which are governed by Liberals. Chili, Peru, Ecuador and Brazil are no more to be pitied than Virginia or Carolina. I do not pretend that everything which takes place there deserves the approbation of the wise ; but you would not dare to maintain that in the country of the Quakers of North America, public felicity is unchequered.

Of Spain we have spoken already. What we shall

say of France may, moreover, be applied to the land of the Cid.

What remains of M. de Laveleye's wholesale accusation? The paragraph relating to France, the land which gave birth to "the immortal principles of '89," and which but lately, before the coming of Prince Bismarck, gave the signal of all the campaigns directed against the Catholic Church. A man must possess singular audacity or profess a sovereign contempt for his readers who would attempt to maintain that the cause of the revolutions from which France, "the eldest daughter of the Church of Rome," is suffering should be attributed to the Church and to Catholics. The French certainly have, on the whole, remained obstinately attached to the faith of St. Remigius, and the acknowledgment of Christendom has ratified the eulogium of their heroic actions which the annalists of the Middle Ages had expressed under this proverbial form, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, comprising under this latter term not only the French properly so-called, but the Francs or ancient Lotharingians and even all the Catholic tribes that settled along the right bank of the Rhine as far as Friesland. There is not at present upon the earth a Church more pure in doctrine, more united in faith, more fruitful in works than this great Church of France; and when we consider the place it holds in the Universal Church, we cannot contemplate without a shudder what the physiognomy of the modern world would be if it did not exist or should suddenly disappear. Without permitting our fears to carry us so far, we must not forget that the country of St. Vincent

de Paul gave birth to Voltaire, and that the Little Sisters of the Poor are less honored there by men of letters than Madame Sand. Above all we must carefully distinguish the extraordinary movement to which France has been officially obedient since the Renaissance. Without going back to the time of Philip le Bel, who had already professed the doctrines of Dr. Falk, and to the author of the second part of the "*Roman de la Rose*," Jean de Meung, who, according to the exquisite remark of my friend, Leon de Monge, had already anticipated the writers of the "reptile press," we can assert that never since the Reformation has France had a government strictly faithful to the doctrines of the civil-ecclesiastical law such as it is taught throughout the Universal Church. Not to render confused so simple a question by extending it, let us ask ourselves what has been, in this present century, the government in France that we could call "clerical," (I take this word in its good sense, in contrast, for example, with a "Gueux" government, as we would say in Belgium). You will, perhaps, answer by mentioning the Restoration. I do not entirely admit the honor people would confer on the government of Louis XVIII. and Charles X., which were always more concerned about themselves than about the honor of the Church; yet, I will grant, under certain reserves, that the Restoration, as a government, was favorable to Catholic interests; but the government of the Restoration was, before that of Marshal McMahon, one of the best that France has seen. How many misfortunes and disasters would not France

have avoided if it had preserved, developed and perfected this monarchical constitution on the basis of the most evident traditions and moral interests of the country. From Louis XVI. to Marshal McMahon, except the little bright spot of the Restoration, all the governments that have succeeded each other in France have been hostile or indifferent to Catholic interests. The civil constitution of the clergy, the organic articles, the imprisonment of Pope Pius VI., the carrying off of Pius VII., the greatest evils which the pontificate of Pius IX. has endured are the handiwork of the rulers of France; the Government of July was liberal; that of Napoleon III. was the godfather of Count Cavour and the accomplice of Prince Bismarck; the two Republics of 1848 and 1870 led to the assassination of the Archbishops of Paris, Affre and Darboy. I do not believe that even the silly papers of the liberal multitude would admit that it was Catholics that guillotined Louis XVI., proscribed the clergy that refused to take the oath, created the University of France, instituted the National Guard, brought the Count of Montalembert and the Père Lacordaire before the tribunal of the peers, and shot the "hostages." M. de Tocqueville has resumed the labors of the latter part of his life in this phrase: "We were advancing when the French Revolution came." In spite of the new and bloody experiences of the present century, we may say of France, as it is at present, that it is advancing. It is advancing in such a way that its enemies are not asleep. As to French civilization, its action is so powerful that it is within its orbit that M. de Laveleye

goes to look for the consecration of his talents; its material conquerors themselves experience its irresistible influence:

Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit.*

As an expounder of Protestant ideas, M. de Laveleye is, moreover, very ungrateful to official France. It would be interesting, in effect, to study the following questions: First, what would become of Protestantism on the continent and of the Grand Turk, if the crown of France, instead of becoming, at the most important junctures, their accomplice, had religiously united itself to the Emperor to fight against them. Secondly, what especially, would have been the fate of the State that typifies Lutheranism, the Electorate of Brandenburg, without France at the most critical epochs of its existence? A strange monument was recently inaugurated at Ems to remind future generations of a *scene* which did not take place, namely, a scene in which the unfortunate Count Benedetti is supposed to have insulted the King of Prussia. We know that this pretended insult aided, in an admirable manner, the long premeditated design of Bismarck's policy. They would engrave on this monument the names of the heroes of the scene: King William, Count Benedetti, Count von Lehndorf, and Prince Antony Radzivill, the King's two aides-de-camp. His majesty was formally opposed to it on account of its untruthfulness. To get rid of this embarrassment the promoters of this monument should have simply in-

* "Conquered Greece took the fierce victor captive."

scribed on the marble the names of Francis I, Cardinal Richelieu and Napoleon III. Cardinal Richelieu would even deserve to have his statue erected in front of the *Brandenburgerthor* at Berlin.

It is understood, then, in the deductive school, that the nations corrupted by the Catholic Church are condemned to political absolutism, moral slavery and an incurable poverty. In this point of view, however, Italy and Belgium, says M. de Laveleye, appear to be more "happy than France and Spain. But is liberty definitively established in these two countries? Well-meaning men doubt it." What liberty? The author has forgotten to tell us; but he lets us guess it a little farther on. However this may be, an honest anonymous gentleman in an Italian journal, *Il Diritto*, has written an article entitled *Italia Nera*. In this article he says: "The peoples of the Papal religion are already dying or about to die." The anonymous writer then tells us that all will go on well in new Italy, whilst the Catholics will derive no benefit from the common political liberties; but the day on which these wretches will take seriously to heart the principles of the constitution which has been imposed upon them, and will no longer keep aloof, then "will be manifested the incompatibility between modern civilization and the ideas of Rome." The artless reader will ask himself: But what does this good fellow mean? He pretends that the peoples who profess the religion of the Pope are dead or are going to die; and then, all on a sudden, he immediately perceives a people of this pernicious species, even in Italy, *Italia Nera*; it keeps

still, it is true, like a gloomy people, but he is afraid that it will throw off its indifference which is only apparent; what do I say, they are certain that this dead or dying one is going to put himself in motion, and then, just heaven, all will be lost. The reasoning of this well-meaning Italian is truly worthy of the "physiican in spite of himself." "Palsanguenne, here's a physician who pleases me; I think he'll succeed, for he's a buffoon."

But let us not laugh, for the subject of itself is hardly laughable. What will "soon" come to pass in Italy (we accept the augury of it) "is exactly what is passing in Belgium since 1840." MM. Gladstone, Bluntschli, and de Savornin have asked themselves, why only since 1840. They will experience other disappointments besides. In effect, everybody is not yet convinced that the Catholics of Belgium are dying or about to die. M. de Laveleye is too intelligent to deny the vitality and virile energy of his Catholic fellow citizens who practise seriously and sincerely the representative regime, who endure, without an expression of discontent, the shock of all the consequences of the most extended system of liberties that reigns in the modern world, and who are no more deficient in intellect or means than the liberals or Protestants of the past, present or future.

How is he going to get out of this difficulty? In the following manner:

"Recently one of the authors of the Belgian Constitution, and the most eminent of them perhaps, told me, while his soul was filled with sorrow: 'We be-

lieved that to establish liberty it was sufficient to proclaim it, by separating the Church from the State. *I am beginning to believe that we were deceived.* The Church, supporting herself on the rural districts, wishes to impose her absolute power. The large cities, gained over to the modern ideas, will not allow themselves to be enslaved without trying to defend themselves. We are drifting towards a civil war, as in France. We are already in a revolutionary state. The future appears to me to be big with troubles. The last elections have begun to make the danger apparent. The elections for the Chambers have strengthened the clerical party, whilst those for the communes have given the power to the Liberals in all the large cities. Thus the antagonism between the cities and rural districts, one of the causes of the civil war in France, also shows itself in Belgium. As long as the government will remain in the hands of prudent men, more disposed to serve their country than to obey their bishops, serious disorders are not to be feared. But if the fanatics who openly accept the *Syllabus* as a political programme should come into power, terrible shocks will be the consequence. Recently they were near bringing civil war and foreign invasion upon us.'"

I will put aside the commonplace about the *Syllabus*, which M. de Laveleye has evidently never read, and I will take no account, against the honorable writer, of the argument built upon the recent threatening note of Prince Bismarck, and to which our parliament has already unanimously done justice. I will confine myself to the basis of this truly strange argumentation.

It is an acknowledgement of powerlessness. In his "*Histoire de la Révolution*," M. Quinet sees but two ways of dealing with religious questions: "either interdiction or liberty," and he shows that liberty is of no avail. There remains, then, interdiction. "If Luther and Calvin," he says, "had contented themselves with establishing liberty of worship *without adding anything*, there never would have been the shadow of a religious revolution in the sixteenth century." Do you understand? In the letter which the same writer addressed on one occasion to M. Sue, "On the Religious and Moral Situation of Europe," he says plainly: "Brute force is the only means that has succeeded in annihilating an ancient form of belief." In a recent article published under the title of "The Principles of Liberty in Political Matters," by M. H. Pergameni, a talented young man, in the *Revue de Belgique* (October 1875), the periodical of which M. de Laveleye is one of the editors and the principal contributor, we read a brutal, but clear and frank, apology for these anti-Christian doctrines. The author, following in the footsteps of MM. Quinet, Sue, and an eccentric Englishman, Mr. J. F. Stephen, brings to task the doctrinal Liberals, the Manchester school, the Unionists and the Belgian Constitution. He treats political liberty as an inefficacious means, a superannuated instrument, a false idol, a dotard. It is mockery to leave liberty to our opponents. Liberty, he says with a candid assurance, is "a simply practical notion, a result of race, climate and civilization." The author also deserves to be ranked among the number of involuntary

apologists. Read, in effect, this negation of certitude:

"If we were ruled here below by an infallible and superior law, if, anywhere in the heavens, the book of truth were left wide open before us, if we could easily read what is conformable with and what is contrary to the ideal of society, the problem of truth would be speedily solved. All that would be conformable to this social ideal would be allowable and free, and all that would be contrary would be prohibited.

"Alas! such is not the case. Abandoned children, we have not above us an infallible master to lead us by the hand and say to us: This is the truth. The truth, it is we ourselves who create it; the social necessities, it is we who define them.

"How? By brute force; it is brute force alone that in this world creates and preserves, it is it that fixes the social necessities and the rules of law; for a law without force is only a word. Whatever people may say, not only does might surpass right,—which does not signify much,—but might is right."

Farther on, M. H. Pergameni repeats this proposition of Mr. Stephen: "The question of knowing whether liberty is good or evil is as illogical as that of knowing whether fire is good or bad." There is certainly a true meaning in this aphorism, and Catholics will not contradict it: but in the mouth, or from the pen, of him who denies all objective authority upon earth, such a proclamation of principle is outrageous; let the author permit me to say so without believing that I mean to offend him personally.

I add that, admitting M. Pergameni's starting point, his work is a little pearl of logic and misguided common sense. But his starting point is absolutely the same as that of M. de Laveleye. Here is the conclusion of M. Pergameni's pleading :

"Let us not lose our time, then, in trying to convince our adversaries ; the experience of centuries could alone decide which of us is in the right, which of us is nearest to the social ideal. We believe we are right and that suffices ; henceforward our duty is to try and make the ideas we believe correct to prevail, without disturbing ourselves about liberty.

"Moreover, this tendency to set liberty aside as an auxiliary in the social contest, is becoming more and more apparent in proportion as conservative opinion is transformed and rallies around this oldest and most solid religious edifice raised by men, the Roman Catholic Church. Germany, Switzerland and Italy have set us this example; let us follow it if we wish to be saved.

"Without doubt, in certain countries, as in England and in the United States, for example, these questions appear still farther from being stated so clearly, and the liberty of association and worship is there almost unbounded. But premonitory commotions are already agitating this surface which is apparently so calm, and the moment is approaching when England and the United States will have to come face to face with this redoubtable problem of religious liberty. They will do so, we have no doubt, with all the practical commonsense of the Anglo-Saxons, and will not amuse them-

selves with discussing whether such or such a measure of defense, the suppression of the religious orders, for example, is a blow at the liberty of association. Necessity is law, *salus populi suprema lex*, these are old axioms which the human race will never repudiate.

"With us, as well as in France, the situation is much more critical; we are in the heat of the contest, and Ultramontanism has set itself with an alarming ardor to its work of absorption.

"What will we do? Will we continue to fold our arms and chant daily the litanies of liberty, or will we start up with a manly heart and try to muzzle the Roman wolf?

"And by what means? Will it suffice, as many think it will, to take away from the Church what we call its privileges, and to realize in an absolute manner the formula of a free Church in a free State? We say it with an absolute conviction that that would be on our part to commit suicide.

"No, if the Belgian Liberals wish to save their country and their ideas, they must have recourse to more energetic means, they must work without relaxation for the suppression of convents and religious orders, they must wrest education from the hands of the clergy, they must put a stop, by severe and radical measures, to the unheard of development of miracles, pilgrimages and stigmatisations which are a scandal and a shame to our country.

"What will these measures be? Undoubtedly there is no question of making martyrs. We are no longer in the times when people were burned and tortured in

the name of a political opinion; the manners of humanity are changed, and the man of the nineteenth century no longer possesses the undaunted courage of his ancestors; but if repression has lost its character of ferocity, it exists none the less, for it is the sanction of right. Imprisonment, fines and banishment are legal arms, and why not make use of them?

"I repeat that liberty, toleration, free discussion and the innocent railleries of our followers of Voltaire will not gain for us an inch of ground in this contest. On the contrary, the more we speak of liberty and good-naturedly amuse ourselves by turning miracles into ridicule, the more will the superstition extend itself among our people; it is not with fillips that we can storm a granite fortress.

"If we wish to do our work seriously, we ought to forget the doctrines of 1830, and put aside our fine dreams of liberty. Who denies that liberty is sometimes good? But social life is much more precious, and to preserve it such as we understand it, we must know how to use constraint. All our laws are a perpetual example of it, for they all encroach upon the domain of liberty; let us yet restrict this domain where it interferes with our social ideal, and we will act logically, as men ought to act.

"The principles which ought to guide us in this contest are those of legitimate defense and social preservation; they are also those of human solidarity, too much neglected by the Liberals of every country. It is high time that men of progress should seriously concern themselves about the poorer classes, these laborers

whose number is increasing every day to an alarming proportion. In this respect the clericals are ahead of us for a long time past, after their own manner; this tutelage of the little ones, whom the Liberals disdainfully neglected, they have taken in hand; they have made themselves the counsellors, masters and consolers of the people. Let us do likewise; let us go to the disinherited, let us protect them against the enterprises of the Church, should it even be at the expense of the liberty of association. Finally, let us remember that the great law of all human society is the contest of contrary forces, that a political party sustains itself only by contest, that it is never allowed for it to fall asleep and leave the battle-field free to its adversaries, and that the true service of all those who believe in an idea is that of one of the champions of liberalism, Marnix de Sainte Aldegonde: Let there be repose elsewhere!"

Undoubtedly, M. H. Pergameni might employ the talents which God has given him in the service of a better cause; but no one can dispute that, in this rather savage energy there reigns a certain sincerity. Nevertheless, the young writer has been thrown overboard by the lords of the Liberal admiralty. The *Echo du Parlement*, in which he published a novel, treats him as a romancer, and compares him to the *Croix*, *crux episcoporum*. The *Indépendance* calls him a colt. We do not see, it says, "the necessity of discussing the violences of the young publicist of the *Revue de Belgique*. They are the playful flings of an escaped colt that is sowing his wild oats. It is not

bad to have them to lose. Yet he should not squander them too wildly."

Finally M. de Laveleye himself, somewhat too surprised at the sensation this "frolicking" has created, thought he should, in the name of the committee of the *Revue*, write to the *Journal de Gand* a letter in which we read as follows under the date of the 21st of October :

"The system defended by M. Pergameni is not accepted by any of the members of the committee. But it has numerous partisans in England, Italy, France and particularly in Germany, and, let it be well understood, it will rally to itself still more in proportion as the excessive pretensions of the clergy will provoke a more ardent opposition. This opinion representing thus one of the important shades of the anti-clerical movement, it has appeared useful to us that it should be exposed, so that people could appreciate it, and if need be, combat it."

It appears to me that this disavowal was not necessary : M. Pergameni says nothing which M. de Laveleye does not say ; only he says it more clearly. In his letter to M. Sue already referred to, M. Quinet acknowledges that he is a little embarrassed in trying to put his doctrine into form ; he enunciates it, he says, only *by enervating the words*. M. de Laveleye experiences the same embarrassment. But M. Pergameni has not enervated the words. That is the only difference which I perceive between the two theses sustained by the two fellow laborers. I would be happy to learn that I am deceived ; but then I

would accuse M. de Laveleye of a flagrant inconsistency. If "the most eminent of the authors of the Belgian constitution" (we regret that we have not made his acquaintance) begins to believe that he has been deceived, in generously "according" civil liberties to Catholics, what, then, is the regime which he would apply to them, if he were master? What, then, are the "terrible shocks" which await the Catholics? Whence will the shocks come? All these questions are left by M. de Laveleye in a literary darkness from which M. Pergameni has extricated them.

The advocate X. Olin and Professor G. Tiberghien have no desire to accept the responsibility of M. Pergameni's article. The former, taking his observations from the historical standpoint of our parliamentary liberal doctrinaries, protests with much energy, we must acknowledge, against M. Pergameni's doctrine, but he does not essentially refute it. In effect, this doctrine is put in practice in Prussia and Switzerland, two countries which "are marching at the head of modern civilization," and if they wish to make short work of "clerical routine," even "rational" arguments are not wanting to legitimatize the employment of force in the service of political success. Ancient society, on the eve of the Redemption, and at the apogee of its civilization, threw itself into the abyss of Cæsarism. Virgil and Horace were no simpletons; and yet this regime was not displeasing to them. Aristotle was the preceptor of the son of Philip of Macedon, whose system of absolutism was not repugnant to him. Prince Bismarck, who realizes the pre-

cepts of M. Pergameni, is honored as one of the greatest men of our time, and I see the most learned jurists, the most renowned men of letters, and what remains in Germany of philosophers, weaving crowns for him.

M. Tiberghien is more technical than M. Olin, but I venture to say that he is less convincing; he seeks to remedy M. Pergameni's errors on the matter of liberty, and he addresses to him on this subject a little paternally philosophical admonition. The reader has no desire that I should oblige him to follow me through the digression into which I would be drawn, if I wished in my turn to criticize the theory of M. Tiberghien. Let us say, however, that the latter does honor to his profession in maintaining a spiritualistic doctrine; but his *a priori* definition of liberty, his somewhat arbitrary determination of the idea of right, his theory on civil and political liberty, which he deduces exclusively from the notion of moral liberty, cannot be received without philosophical reserve, and gives rise to many rational objections. We may profess the soundest philosophical doctrine on moral liberty, whilst not admitting as an absolute principle (as we must do in philosophy) the liberty of worship, and yet be perfectly honest men; and in the same way we may doctrinally define the liberty of worship as a pestilence, whilst sincerely and legitimately, but civilly, respecting a legislation which would tolerate all forms of worship This is the thesis and hypothesis of Catholics. M. Olin does not admit the absolute liberty of worship. For what reason? M. Tiberghien pretends that it is only sophists

who sustain absolute liberty. "Liberty," he says, "could not be absolute for man, since the liberty of each member of society finds its limit in the liberty of all the others. Liberty has its limits; does that prevent it from being a benefit? It is a benefit since it is a right." This reasoning is faulty in its foundation; it confounds moral and political liberty, the absolute with the relative, and it overturns the notion of good; liberty is not a benefit because it is a right; liberty, on the contrary, can become a right only for the realization of good.

If I were in M. Pergameni's place I would victoriously answer all this argumentation. Who will define the limits of civil liberty (let us clearly understand each other on the meaning of the words, and not confound, as M. Tiberghien does, moral with civil liberty)? I, M. Tiberghien will reply. We, cry out the friends of M. Olin. Why could not MM. Stephen, Carteret, Bismarck and Pergameni reply, in their turn, it is we? I defy M. Tiberghien to show that the encyclicals *Mirari vos* and *Quanta cura* are *philosophically* inferior to his subjective and uncertain theories. I say philosophically, leaving theology to shallow minds like those of "the clericals."

This is too much on this subject. It is time to conclude.

On the whole, then, Catholic nations are dead or are going to die; but as long as they are not yet, perchance, buried, take care lest you grant them any liberties which are legitimate only for Liberals and Protestants; "experience has shown and will show more

clearly every day that on the gronnd of absolute liberty, free-thought cannot contend against Catholicism."

Thus, on one sine, they are seeking to propagate this belief, against the history of the past and the facts of the present, that the souls of Catholics are religiously corrupted, that they are slaves politically, and that they are economically condemned to hard labor and poverty; then when it has been shown, as in Belgium, that such a thesis is radically false and unsustainable, they trick themselves up on some other point and proclaim that these same Catholics ought to be excluded from a share in the benefits of the civil liberty of the common law. On one side they state, with a pretended sorrow, that they are incapable of living; on the other, "their souls filled with sadness," they condemn them to death, because they possess too much life. If I wished to qualify such a doctrine with a single word, I would say that it is political pharisaism, inspired at the same time by hatred of the Church and contempt of civil liberty.

M. de Laveleye then ascends the Capitol to give thanks to the gods in these terms:

"For every man who wishes to scrutinize the facts without prejudice, it remains, then, an established fact that the Reformation is more favorable than Catholicism to the development of nations. We must now examine into the causes of this fact. I believe that it is not difficult to point them out."

We will follow him to verify these assertions.

CHAPTER VI.

CATHOLIC COUNTRIES AND EDUCATION.

Education is not in Itself a Source of Material Prosperity—False Conclusions that are often Drawn from the Condition of Public Instruction in a Country as regards Political Influence—Primary Education in Belgium—In Prussia—The Organization of Primary Education does not date from the Reformation—Free Examination in Prussia.

After having vainly tried to prove that the Reformation is "more favorable than Catholicism to the development of nations," M. de Laveleye looks for the causes of this imaginary fact. The first of these causes would be education, which is, in his opinion, more complete in Protestant countries; and by education he understands particularly the modest, scientific and literary baggage which one carries away with him from the primary school. Saxony, Denmark, Sweden and Prussia march at the head of nations "without, or almost without, illiterate people," whilst the Catholic countries, Belgium, France, Spain and Portugal are stagnating in invincible ignorance. Yes, invincible; for "it is all very fine for Catholic States to make instruction obligatory, like Italy, or to expend much money for this purpose, like Belgium; they are not succeeding in dispelling ignorance." England, where primary instruction is little more complete than in Portugal, comes to derange the apparent regularity of this syllogism. Why? "Probably because the Anglican Church is, among the forms of the reformed worship,

that which most closely resembles the Church of Rome." This adverb of probability should in a slight degree flatter the self-love of Mr. Gladstone, the author's patron in England. M. de Laveleye might put Holland alongside of Great Britain. As regards Switzerland, the "primary" facts would there be of an irresistible eloquence; the Latin, but Protestant cantons of Neufchatel, Vaud and Geneva would be in this respect on a level with the Germanic cantons of Zürich and Berne, and they would be superior to those of Ticino, the Valais and Lucerne. The general cause of this extraordinary contrast would be the first and last word of Dr. Luther: Instruct the children. Protestants ought all know how to read, since the reformed worship reposes on a book, the Bible, whilst among Catholics, "reading is the way which leads to heresy." Moreover, and to say it all, the organization of popular instruction dates from the Reformation. "Education being very favorable to the practice of political liberty and to the production of riches, and Protestantism favoring the diffusion of education, there is then a manifest cause for the superiority of Protestant States."

The whole of this reasoning is contrary not only to reality but even to the economical thesis of the author. "Man does not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God." Everybody knows that riches, in the vulgar sense of the word, are not in general the appanage of scholars or well educated men.

Stultitiam patiuntur opes.

If I meant to be indiscreet, how many simpletons

could I not point out around me who have become exceedingly rich and who hardly know how to sign their names. Who was the intelligent man that said, "he is as stupid as a millionaire?" "For what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his soul?" It is not riches, it is not even knowledge that elevates nations, it is justice. *Justitia elevat gentes.* In Athens, the most elegant of republics, did all the electors of the time of Aristophanes know how to read and write? Was it primary education that made the fortunes of Tyre and of Carthage? When ancient Rome was the political mistress of the world, were the compatriots of Ovid, Horace and Virgil all "normalists?" You acknowledge yourself that England is one of the foremost political societies of the modern world, although it is one of the last on the scale of primary education. And is not Russia, the actual arbiter of the peace of Europe, in the "primary" relation the last of States?

The consul who reduced the fatherland of Plato and Pindar to the condition of a Roman province was a boor. How many pedants could we not point out among those who bore from one end of Europe to the other the standard of the "immortal principles of '89." You say, "it is the schoolmaster who has triumphed at Sedan;" who, then, formerly triumphed at Jena? Obligatory instruction existed in Prussia long before 1789, and it did not prevent that State from being politically humiliated from the time of the retreat from Champagne, under the Prince of Coburg, until 1813; and when Napoleon I. occupied

Berlin, he carried off the sword of Frederic II., exclaiming : "This is all that Prussia is worth."

No, the quality of Catholic does not condemn us to political failure. Unfortunately, also, pedagogy is powerless against artillery and even against cuirassiers. The general argumentation of M. de Laveleye does not, therefore, attain its end ; on the contrary, it confirms my Catholic thesis.

The details of this argumentation do not any better withstand free examination.

According to the educational statistics*, the country that is farthest advanced on the scale of primary instruction, is Sweden, of which the civilized districts are almost on a level with certain districts of our provinces of Luxemburg, Limburg and Namur. In spite of the secular *Schultzwang* of Prussia, the monarchy of Frederic II. is not so far advanced as our arrondissement of Arlon, which is under the administration of M. J. P. Nothomb, the commissary of the king.

This perfection of our primary instruction is even general in our Luxemburg, my native country. In his discourse at the opening of the session of the provincial council, M. Vandamme, the governor, said in 1872 :

" Luxemburg counts at this moment 507 primary schools. That is, one school for every four hundred inhabitants. In no country in Europe has such

* *De l'Enseigenment primaire en Belgique*, par. M. le Baron de Hauleville. (Brussels : Closson, 1870.) The reader is also referred to an article by our author on the same subject in the *Revue Générale* for January, 1875.

progress been made. This is the fruit of the common efforts of private individuals, the communes, the province and the central power : an association as wise as it is fruitful. . . . In the prolonged attempts of Luxemburg to establish schools, a spectacle most interesting, I was going to say touching, presents itself. It was an enormous enterprise in itself ; local difficulties came, besides, to complicate it ; our province has a territorial extent exceptional in the country ; it possesses no great centres ; it is thinly populated and the people are scattered into eight or nine hundred groups ; many of our communes are poor. . . . For more than fifty years past the number of pupils in our primary schools has been relatively considerable, and this number has only increased with time. In 1817 it was equal to ten per cent. of the population ; it now exceeds fifteen per cent. Last year the census of the province showed 31,580 children of an age to attend school, and the number of pupils, in effect, frequenting our primary schools was 31,259 ; there remained, then, only 341 children, or one per cent. Never in any country in Europe, nor under any school system whatever has so admirable a result been obtained. The whole population passes through our schools. . . . We possess a teacher to every 357 inhabitants, whilst in the entire kingdom this proportion is one to every 480 inhabitants. In Brabant it is one to every 507 inhabitants, and in the province of Liege one to every 526. In a parliamentary document recently published and in which the state of primary education in the different countries of the world is stated and ap-

preciated in a learned manner, we read the following : . . . 'The brightest side of the system of Switzerland and what explains its success and celebrity consists without dispute in the great number of teachers we there meet.' Well, in Switzerland there are less teachers than among us ; the proportion there is as follows : one teacher to every 370 inhabitants. Our superiority is not, therefore, local only and relative to the other Belgian provinces ; it also places Luxemburg above the countries that are most favored in this respect.

"Such is, in this province, the organization of popular education, as the happy tendencies of the population, the law and time have made it.

"Yet, school organization is only a collection of means more or less adapted and whose effects are uncertain according to times and circumstances ; the final object, the great duty, is the diffusion of instruction. In what proportion do the people of Luxemburg enjoy this benefit ?

"On this point, gentlemen, I often and curiously interrogate statistics and all the elements of proof that they can furnish ; here is the conclusion I have come to : *in more than half of our communes ignorance is absolutely banished from the rising generation, as well for the females as for the males;* in the other communes, it is, except in a very few retired localities, an insignificant exception ; *we can say, then, that primary instruction in Luxemburg is almost universal.*"

In the province of Namur and in Limburg, both Catholic countries, equally satisfactory results are obtained.

Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove proved but a short time ago to the Chamber of Representatives that his "clerical"arrondissement of Ecloo was far superior, as regards primary instruction, to the "liberal" city of Brussels, the capital of the kingdom and of the intelligence of Belgium. All those who take an interest in primary instruction among us know that the industrial arrondissements of Liege and Mons, the citadels of the Liberal ideas, are classed among the most illiterate of our country. I leave to the reader the trouble of drawing his conclusions from these facts.

I do not deny the high degree of perfection to which the Germans but lately raised their primary schools: but it is to distort facts most wonderfully to attribute this situation to Lutheranism or to the Prussian *Union*. We might as well attribute to the efforts of M. V. Tesch the "primary" superiority of the arrondissement of Arlon where everybody knows how to read and write.

I might, perhaps, admit, with a certain degree of reserve, that the *Schulzwang* (the civil obligation of going to school) has had much to do with this result, but it is not useless to remark to our Protestantizing Liberals: 1. That the Swedish and German schools were, before the war of 1870, *confessional schools*. 2. That in Belgium for example, where the same system has happily prevailed in the official instruction, and where liberty has been left to Catholics, we are rapidly progressing towards the radical abolition of primary ignorance, without the *Schulzwang*, without fieldkeepers, gendarmes or Protestants. 3. That in Germany primary instruc-

tion is as far, if not further, advanced in Catholic countries than in the Protestant provinces. 4. That Catholic Belgium has no reason to envy, as regards primary instruction, the Protestant provinces of Holland, and that it has the superiority over Anglican Great Britain. 5. That M. Langlois has recently demonstrated, in the *Français*, that primary instruction in France is not inferior to that of the most flourishing States of the American Union which are Protestant to a great extent.

As to Switzerland, I deny the correctness of M. de Laveleye's conclusions. It is possible that in the Valais, Ticino and even in the canton of Lucerne, primary instruction is less general than in some other cantons, but this fact, if it is correct, is naturally explained by the impossibility of erecting schools in the mountains inhabited by a population that is scattered here and there. We have already proved that in Switzerland M. de Laveleye wilfully confounds the mountains with the plains.

The reader will understand that it is impossible for us to enter into the details of a discussion of this kind. I ought to confine myself to the principal points of my subject. I must, however, correct a prejudice and an historical error, which hostility to the Catholic Church has propagated. Since 1870, especially, our Liberals represent Prussia as the classic land of all the social and political truths, and among the latter they cite with emulation education in general and primary instruction in particular, which they would make the holy works of the Prussian Lutherans. But

does any one wish to know to whom this educationa splendor is in great part due? To the Catholics. One hundred and fifty years ago the Marches of Brandenburg, as regards education and other things besides, was one of the States in all Europe that had made least progress, and that after two centuries of "Lutheran civilization." It was the epoch when the Elector, who seldom jested, one day, in a moment of whimsical absolutism, made the grave professors of the University of Frankfort on the Oder sit—naked on the ice of the river. As to the peasants and laborers, they were still more cruelly treated; the recruiting sergeant was much more respected than the few successors of the Catholic masters who founded the ancient parochial and claustral schools. The "primary" ignorance was great. Even in the reign of Frederic II., when certain efforts had already been made to change so lamentable a state of affairs, they had no intention of giving to the school the significance preached to-day by Herr Falk and his foreign admirers. "The catechism and the four rules suffice," wrote M. de Voltaire to his friend, that royal philosopher whom people cite as the precursor of the national Liberals, and who neither spoke nor wrote anything but French. Frederick added that one should not "break the branch on which he sits."

In Silesia, which then constituted a part of the monarchy of the Catholic Hapsburgs, the situation was entirely different. Every locality was there provided with a school, either parochial or claustral. In lower and middle Silesia there were many Protestants who

also enjoyed a satisfactory system of primary education, thanks to a competition and a civil liberty which did not exist in the Protestant State of Brandenburg, *any more than it does at present.* When Frederick II. began, in the very bosom of the German empire, by the violent conquest of Silesia, the series of Prussian annexations with which we are all familiar, he remembered the services which the Jesuits had rendered to his House, in working for the transformation of the duchy of Prussia into a kingdom.* After the suppression of the Society of Jesus he maintained the Fathers in possession of most of their ancient colleges, which he simply transformed into State establishments, whilst leaving to them their Catholic character. Frederic II. also protected the popular schools of the Augustinians, whose establishments, within the circle of Sagan, became even model or normal schools. Felbiger, the prior of Sagan, with his celebrated *scholasticus*, Strauss, may be considered as the veritable organizer of the ancient Prussian schools. The great school settlement of 1801 was, so to say, copied after the institute of these "clericals."

In the new western provinces we have to point out analogous facts. Not much more than a few days ago, there was inaugurated at Münster, in Westphalia, a statue to the Baron von Furstenberg, who raised popular instruction to the highest degree of prosperity; he was aided in this clerical work by an illustrious Cath-

*Regarding this interference of the Jesuits see *Les Allemands depuis la guerre de Sept-Ans*, par M. le Baron de Haulleville, page 26. (Brussels, 1868.)

olic, Overberg, whose name is now familiar to all the pedagogues in the world. The Prussian government has no right, therefore, to exert any "Protestant" effort to found its schools; in the West as well as in the East, it has inherited Catholic schools which were true models of confessional institutions. The Prussian government scrupulously left to them this necessary character, and it is to this happy circumstance, and to it alone, that we must attribute the rich fruits of popular education in Prussia down to 1870. Since "the schoolmaster has conquered at Sedan" he has become proud, it appears. The confessional character of the primary schools has been, if not radically suppressed, at least perverted, and it becomes easy to predict that it is all over with the educational superiority of Prussia since it has foolishly taken away the life which its *Catholic* founders had breathed into it. "Never has any State," says a celebrated Protestant, a Prussian of the old stamp, the late Herr Dahlmann, formerly my professor at the University of Bonn, "never has any State forestalled the education of children, to bring them up according to its own fancy, without injuring the best part of the people; our sagacity forbids us to sell souls to the State."

M. de Laveleye assures us that during the campaign of 1870 the French (Catholic) wounded asked for cards to play with, whilst the convalescent Protestants (Germans) asked for nothing but books. I have not witnessed any of these demands for cards in any of the ambulances created during this dreadful war, of which I pray God to spare us the renewal. But I know that

many of the Catholic German wounded, Bavarians, Rhinelanders, Westphalians, and Poles (poor Poles !), who had been mutilated in the service of the German cause, which is now represented to us as that of Protestantism, protested against the Protestant books which were given to them. Everything had been foreseen by the superintendents except that, and it was necessary that charitable men should interfere to prevent these unfortunate creatures from seeing attempts to ruin their morals added to their physical sufferings.

The organization of popular instruction does not date from the Reformation, as M. de Laveleye inconsiderately states. Luther did not make his studies in a Protestant school. Before the invention of printing—that is to say, before the end of the fifteenth century—the Catholic clergy alone took an interest in the requirements of public instruction. It was printing that gave a new impulse to education and to the diffusion of this public instruction. It is not my duty at present to give a history of the schools of the Catholic Middle Ages, from Charlemagne to Charles V., although the subject is very interesting and too generally neglected; to become acquainted with the Middle Ages requires long studies, and, unfortunately, the enemies of the Catholic Church intentionally confound their history with that of the centuries of transition ; they do not like to apply themselves to persevering studies, which ordinarily lead to sincerity, when they do not lead to the faith. The schools of the Middle Ages were certainly not equal in number to our present schools, and the number of their discoveries (scientific, physical, chemi-

cal, mechanical, astronomical, etc.,) was not equal to the amount of our present knowledge. But in the claustral schools pupils learned to write, read and calculate (the four rules), just as at present, and in the chairs of the universities the moral sciences (the most important of all) were taught with as much splendor as can be imagined to-day for the most blustering universities of Germany,

There was, for example, in the twelfth century, a professor who was called the Count of Aquinas, a Neapolitan who was professor at Paris, at Cologne, in the Italian universities, and who went to die at Toulouse. It is all very fine for me to search among the compatriots of Herr von Hartmann, the philosopher of the unknowable. I do not know one man who is worthy of unlacing the sandals of this Dominican, the Angel of the Schools. When writers as eminent as M. Domet de Vorges and my learned fellow laborer, Dr. Van Weddingen, perceive no salvation for contemporary philosophy, but in a profound study of scholastic ideology and metaphysics, I feel myself excited to pity in presence of a multitude of babbling and boasting pygmies, who scarcely know how to stammer the language of the great Christian scholars who enlightened the world from the time of St. Bernard to that of St. Ignatius Loyola. Are not Albert the Great, Roger Bacon, the author of the Imitation, Dante and Petrarch worth Herren Virchow, Haeckel, von Sybel and Madam Louisa Mühlbach? In all the versifications that have been dedicated to Prince Bismarck, there is not a single line that breathes the powerful inspiration of the poetry of the Middle Ages.

"The reformed worship reposes on a book—the Bible," says M. de Laveleye, "whilst reading is the way that leads Catholics to heresy." This assertion astonishes us by its errors. In the first place, to pretend that Catholics do not read, or are afraid to read, is childishness. Then M. de Laveleye will allow me to inform him that the Protestant sects repose, not on the Bible, but on the symbolical Scriptures. It is very true that Luther gave up the Bible to free individual interpretations, but he did not at all admit any one to contradict *his* interpretation. So he quickly drew up, in concert with his friends, a new *Credo*, the *Confessio Augustana*, which the princes, enriched by the spoils of the Church, propagated with the aid of the sword and of blood, and which is not even Biblical, since its doctrines on grace, faith without works, etc., are not to be found in the Bible. The diffusion of instruction has nothing in common with the Protestant doctrine ; for, in their religious teaching Protestants do not apply their principle of free examination, but the principles of the Catholic Church, since they instruct children authoritatively. Let us also add that the convulsive efforts of Luther in favor of public instruction date only from the second part of his heretical career. The destruction of the chapters, convents and ancient charitable institutions, which Catholic piety had planted like dense forests, had as a lamentable consequence the ruin of all the schools sustained by the secular and the regular clergy. In a short time was witnessed a great falling off in education and morality. It was then, but then only, that

Luther, whose work was menaced, began his loud talk about the necessity of education.*

I have already mentioned the Confession of Augsburg. I will take this opportunity to resume, for the reader's benefit, the singular history which free examination in matters of religion furnishes to us in Prussia. The doctrines of Luther on grace and on communion gave rise to the most vehement disputes between the partisans of the former Augustinian monk, those of Zwingli and those of Calvin. Each party pretended to have a doctrinal infallibility, proved from the Sacred Scriptures; these contrary pretensions were defended, more than once, not by briefs and encyclicals, but by the sword, and the material victory of the one had for consequence the moral oppression of the other. In western Germany the *Confessio Augustana* was particularly combated by the "Reformed" Church properly so-called, supported by the Catechism of Heidelberg. The chiefs of the different States called Protestant of the former empire of Germany adopted sometimes the *Confessio Augustana* and sometimes the Catechism of Heidelberg, according as this change agreed with their fancy or their temporal interest, without caring much for the free examination of the people, who did not examine at all, and of the pastors who were not free. The religious variations of official Prussia deserve to be classed among the most singular of all. In conse-

* See Luther's works. Also consult A. Menzel's *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen*, vol. 1, page 123.

quence of an alliance with the House of Orange, the Dutch "reformed" worship became that of the court of Brandenburg, and the Lutheran preachers were compelled, by violence if necessary, to support in their temples the preachings and the communion of the Calvinists. Calvinist pastors were even imposed quite simply on Lutheran parishes.

The Lutheran preachers who were unwilling to submit to this form of free examination were brutally deposed and banished, exactly in the same way as the Catholic priests are to-day under the ministry of Herr Falk. Let us cite from among these victims of the Calvinist heresy, Gerhard, who is well-known for the services he rendered to the Protestant chant. But the majority of the preachers preferred to preserve to their families their daily bread by adopting, with the best possible grace, the Catechism of Heidelberg. Things went on thus until after the Congress of Vienna, which, as everybody knows, gave to the crown of Prussia new territories inhabited by Saxon Lutherans. It was then that the official Church of Prussia, under the bayonet cross of its territorial bishop (*Landesbischof*), the king, decreed the fusion of the two confessions by means of a *Union* in the Lord's Supper. Never in any country has a similar religious enormity been perpetrated with so much discipline and so unceremoniously. A few communities declared themselves "free;" others consoled themselves with allowing a generous but sterile pietism to be imposed on them by the authorities. "Enlightened" people adopted Hegel's religion of the God-State. As to the mass of the

Lutheran population, they were insensibly converted to the *Union* by the schoolmasters or by the aid of the military service. The Prussian *Union* was a veritable State Church, which is crumbling before our eyes, since baptism has come to be no longer obligatory, and since civil marriage has been introduced into the legislation. The "enlightened" middle classes concern themselves little about this perilous situation. Their civilizing scepticism serves them provisionally as an intrenchment under the protection of an army of twelve hundred thousand men. As to the laboring classes of the Protestant provinces, in the Marches of Brandenburg, in Pomerania, in East Prussia, in Schleswig-Holstein, and in Saxony, they allow themselves to be led away more and more towards socialism, which is the "religion of the future."

It is strange that M. de Laveleye should fix precisely upon the present time to illustrate the advantages of reading the Bible, which few persons now read in the Protestant countries of Germany, especially since the *Protestantenverein* has popularized the criticisms of Herr Strauss against the Sacred Scriptures. The present Prussian administration also has made efforts to limit the reading of the Bible in the schools. There are not wanting, even in Germany, men who "move about in the highest grades of civilization," and who find that the youth of modern times are too intelligent to lose their time in reading "legends," respectable indeed, by reason of their antiquity, but penetrated through and through by the powerful rays of modern science. They reason like Schiller :

Welche Religion ich bekenne? Keine von allen
Die Du mir nenst. Und warum keine? Aus Religion.*

Things have come in Protestant Germany to such a state of religious disorganization that Catholics sincerely wish that they may not see the number of Protestant believers becoming any smaller. The latter are at least Christians.

Before leaving this subject, let us not neglect to point out still further, by the light of history, the ignorance of those who accuse Catholics of favoring ignorance. To those who pretend in their pride that we know nothing I might answer: We know all that you know, and we know our catechism besides. So as not to allow them time to smile disdainfully, I will add a few facts.† Without going back to the "darkness" of the Middle Ages, when, according to the testimony of the Protestant historian, Voigt, Pope Gregory VII., one of the bugbears of the Liberals of our time, pressed all the bishops to protect literature and the arts, and to organize schools in the immediate vicinity of their cathedral churches, I will cite the opinions of Burke, Gibbon and Hutchinson. The first of these has declared that "France alone has produced more distinguished men than all the Protestant universities of Europe;" the second has said that "a monastery of Benedictines has given to the world more books of science than all the

* "What religion do I profess? None of those which you name. And why none of them? Because of religion."

† I borrow them, as well as what precedes, from a popular little English book which has recently been translated into French under the title, *Pourquoi nous sommes catholiques et non protestants, discussion au point de vue de l'Ecriture, du bon sens et des faits.* It was written by Dr. Keenan, a Scotch priest. (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1870.)

universities of England ;" and the third expressed himself thus in the House of Lords : "Catholicism, which has been this night the object of so many insults, has been the belief of the most populous and the most enlightened nations of Europe, of the most illustrious characters that have ever honored the name of man (Cobbett, Letter I.; Lingard)." The Bishop of Ghent but lately recalled to our memory this stereotyped phrase of the documents of the Pontifical chancellor : "Ignorance is the mother of vice." This phrase was proverbial in the Universal Church before the birth of Luther.

One thing that has favored the calumnies of the adversaries of the Universal Church is this fact, that the invention of printing preceded the rise of Protestantism in Europe by scarcely seventy years.

Before the end of the fifteenth century printing presses were established in thirty-four cities of France, and from 1455 to 1536, 22,032,900 volumes were printed. Popes Nicholas V. and Sixtus IV. as well as the Catholic princes and kings of most of the countries of Europe, protected by their munificence the arts and sciences. Education was in so flourishing a state in Germany that ten universities were founded there from 1403 to 1506.

Erasmus declares that "education was triumphant in England ; that the king, the queen, two cardinals and all the bishops were employed in diffusing it." All the universities of Europe were, in effect, founded by Catholics. For three hundred years the Protestants of England have shown their desire to diffuse instruction by founding two universities only, those of

Dublin and London. Modern Europe owes to the Catholic Church its civilization, its laws and all its knowledge of the fine arts. In effect the origin of painting, sculpture, music and architecture, is entirely Catholic. If any one doubts about it, let him look at those magnificent abbeys, those cathedrals which have escaped the vandalism of the Reformation, the ruins which the barbarous hand of Protestantism has not completely destroyed. It is not, therefore, astonishing that Colonel Mitchell, in his "Life of Wallenstein," declares that "religion and civilization will never acquit themselves of the debt they owe to the Roman Pontiffs and to the Church of Rome, which for so long a time exerted the noblest efforts to make humanity advance in the way of progress."

When writing that Catholics were prohibited in a general manner to read the Sacred Scriptures M. de Laveleye should have indicated the source from which he obtained this strange information. I read in a work entitled "*La lecture de la Bible en langue vulgaire,*" which is from the authorized pen of Mgr. Malou, Bishop of Bruges:

"Has the Church passed a law which prohibits Catholics to read the Holy Bible? *I do not hesitate to answer: No.* The Church has never prohibited the reading of the Bible to all the faithful. Never has she forbidden in an absolute manner the reading of the holy books, *in any language whatever*, to all laymen. Never has she sanctioned a species of monopoly in favor of the clergy."

Undoubtedly the Church has decreed certain restrictions in this matter, remembering those of whom

St. Peter speaks, when he says that certain parts of the Epistles of St. Paul are "hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, to their own destruction." (2nd Ep. III. 16). But this prohibition justifies itself. Here is the rule: Benedict XIV. gave his approbation in 1757 to a decree of the Congregation of the Index, which granted to all the faithful the general permission to read the Bible in the vulgar tongue, provided that the versions should have been approved by the competent authority, and should be accompanied by notes taken from the writings of the holy Fathers or from Catholic writers. Every day the Church in its offices causes the Scriptures to be read to the assembled faithful.

In 1826 the English Catholic bishops publicly declared that never did the Church prohibit the circulation of authentic copies of the Scriptures. Pius VII., in a letter addressed to the English bishops, and dated the 18th of April, 1826, told them "to induce the faithful to read the Holy Scriptures, for that nothing was more useful, more capable of consoling and animating them. They confirm the faith, strengthen the hope, and inflame the charity of the true Christian."

Pius VI., writing to Martini, Archbishop of Florence, regarding his translation of the Scriptures, congratulates him on his zeal in publishing this translation and exhorts the faithful to read it: this letter, dated April 1778, is placed at the beginning of all the English Catholic Bibles.

Before Protestantism existed there were more than twenty translations of the Bible in most of the modern

languages. Here is the enumeration of some old Catholic translations :

Bible of Just, Mayence.....1462
Bible of Bender, Augsburg.....1467
Malermi's Italian Bible.....1471
The Four Gospels in Flemish (Belgian).....1472
The entire Bible in "Belgian," Cologne.....1475
Bible of Julien.....1477
Edition of Delft.....1477
Bible of Ferrier, Spanish.....1478
Edition of Gonda.....1479
Edition of Des Moulins, French.....1490
Four translations mentioned by Bausobre (*Histoire de la Réforme*, Book 4.), printed before.....1522

To this enumeration it may be as well to add the following list of the old manuscript Catholic translations :

Of the Bible into English.....1290
" " " " Anglo-Saxon, verse.....1300
" " " " German languages..... 800
" " " " Italian.....1270
" " " " Spanish.....1280
" " " " French.....1294

Before Luther's time three translations and several editions of the Bible appeared in Italy ; four translations and a multitude of editions were published in the Gothic languages and in French ; two Belgian translations which passed through several editions. A Czech translation was published at Prague in 1488 ; at Putna in 1498 ; at Venice in 1506 and 1511. Many other Catholic translations into almost all the languages of the world were published at Rome, the sanctuary of "Popery."

The anti-Catholic prejudices of certain writers are so deeply rooted that it is with the greatest difficulty we succeed in making them believe that Luther was not the first translator of the Bible into the vulgar German tongue. Before the apostasy of the too famous Augustinian monk, there existed twenty-one German translations (fifteen in *Hochdeutsch* and six in *Niedersaechsisch*) in Germany. Luther himself made use of the translation of Nicholas of Lyra, which appeared in 1473, and passed through several editions before the Reformation. Luther made such good use of the translation of Lyra that a comic poet has rendered this truth proverbial :

Si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset.*

A Protestant writer, whose honest testimony we have more than once invoked, Mr. Laing, (in his "Notes of a Traveller"), makes the following admissions :

"The education of the regular clergy in the Catholic Church is perhaps absolutely, and without any doubt comparatively, superior to that of the Protestant clergy. By absolutely superior, I mean that in a given number of Popish priests and Protestant ministers, one will find among the former a greater number of men who can read and understand the ancient languages, Greek, Latin and Hebrew, and the modern languages that have any connection with that of the Old Testament, a greater number of scholars, distinguished mathematicians, and a larger amount of ac-

"*If Lyra had not piped, Luther had not danced."

quired knowledge. The Catholic clergy have adroitly taken possession of education, not, as people suppose in Protestant countries, to leave the people in the darkness of ignorance and to teach them errors and superstititions, but to be masters of the influence that useful knowledge has over society."

In allusion to this vulgar calumny, viz: "that the Catholic clergy leave the people in the darkness of ignorance," he combats it in these terms, long before the violent overthrow of the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See, and before the constitution of the Falk regime in Prussia:

"This opinion of our ministers is more orthodox than it is charitable and true. The Popish clergy has less to lose by the progress of education than the Protestant clergy. In Catholic Germany, in France, in Italy, and even in Spain, the education of the lower classes in reading, writing, arithmetic, music, politeness and morality is diffused by the clergy with at least as much generality and zeal as in Protestant countries. It is of their own accord, and not on account of the initiative taken by the people, that the Popish priests of the present day seek to maintain themselves at the head of intellectual progress. The Popish Church, far from being opposed to education, protects it, and it is in her hands a powerful instrument which she knows how to use. In every street in Rome there are, at short distances from each other, primary schools for the education of the children of the lower and middle classes. Rome, with a population of 158,678 souls, has 372 primary schools, comprising 452 masters and 14,099 pupils.

Berlin, with a population twice as large as that of Rome, has only 264 schools. Rome has a university attended by 660 students; and the Papal States, with a population of two millions and a half, contain seven universities. Protestant Prussia, with a population of fourteen millions, has only seven. The fact that Rome has at least a hundred schools more than Berlin, although its population is less than half, disposes of all these calumnies. But, some one will ask, what do the people of Rome learn in these schools? Precisely what is taught to the people of Berlin, the most Protestant capital of the most Protestant State in the world: reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, the languages, and religious doctrine."

This testimony, given by an adversary, is well calculated, says Dr. Keenan, to open the eyes of the Protestants that are blindest to this truth, that the Catholic Church loves education and protects the arts and sciences. The Catholic Church respects science because it comes from God, and because it teaches respect. "The Catechism is the greatest, the holiest school of respect that the world has ever had." Let M. de Laveleye allow me, *en passant*, to give the exact words of this quotation from M. Guizot (*Meditations et études morales*, pp. 70, 71). It is applied to the Catholic Church, and not to the dissenting sects. M. de Laveleye wished to give the Protestant Churches the honor of it by suppressing the word Catholic and replacing it by the epithet Christian.

CHAPTER VII.

CATHOLIC COUNTRIES AND MORALITY.

Literary Corruption in France the Fruit of Anti-Catholic Doctrines—Political Absolutism the Antithesis of the Catholic Church—The Catholic Church was the First and the only one in History to Maintain the Absolutely Moral Character of Marriage—Morals in Spain and Italy more Pure than in Protestant Countries—The average Illegitimacy higher among Protestant peoples.—Immorality in the North of Europe—Comparative Statistics of Morality in England.

M. de Laveleye has surpassed himself in the following proposition :

"Everybody is disposed to grant that the strength of nations depends on their morality. . . . But it appears to be averred that the standard of morality is higher among Protestant than among Catholic peoples."

After so audacious an assertion one naturally expects a demonstration, especially on the part of a professor of political economy. A demonstration is, in effect, given to us ; but it is entirely directed against the friends of the author, the Liberals. Here is a recapitulation of it : Catholic peoples are corrupted, for

1. The French fashionable literature is immoral :

2. In Catholic countries those who have wished to combat the Roman Church have borrowed their arms from paganism and from the spirit of the Renaissance. Almost all the French authors and politicians who have worked for the emancipation of the mind have

been conspicuous for their immorality. Those who respect morals are almost always devoted to the Church but penetrated with "absolutist" doctrines. In England and America, on the contrary, the same men defend at the same time religion, morality, and liberty :

3. M. Taine (a positivist) and M. Prévost Paradol (who committed suicide after having passed over to Cæsar) have said that the French (the Catholics ?) no longer base morality on anything but a point of honor, whilst the English (the Protestants ?) base it on austere duty.

There are many truths in the pages which M. de Laveleye devotes to the development of these three arguments ; in reading them attentively one remains even convinced that, if the author were not blinded by his anti-Catholic prejudices (truth has, in certain cases, the privilege of " shutting its eyes "), his reasoning would become altogether correct. But such as it is, it resembles a stupid blunder in strategy : M. de Laveleye fires, without perceiving it, upon his own forces.

He speaks correctly when he accuses of a corruptic of taste the most fashionable literateurs in France, the Sainte-Beuves, the Abouts, the Sardous, the Alex. Dumas, etc., etc. M. Schaepman has already made the able retort that M. de Laveleye might preach by example, by preventing, in the periodicals of which he has control, the publication of such romances as the "*Vicaire de Noirval*" and the "*Chambre à louer.*" To this *argumentum ad hominem* I will add others more to the point : the writers to whom M. de Laveleye al-

ludes are all anti-Catholic, and the translations of their works and their comedies are very much relished in "the country of the fear of God and pious morals," particularly at Berlin, one of the most immoral cities in the world. The princes of the French literature of the present century, the Chateaubriands, the Gratrys the Montalemberts, the Autrans, the Laprades, the Dupanloups, the Lacordaires, etc., are neither corrupt men, nor Protestants, nor Liberals. The first prose writer in England is a Catholic—Father Newman, whose friend, Father Faber, has left lyrical poetry far superior in inspiration to the works of Tennyson, the poet laureate. The two great geniuses of Germany in the nineteenth century have been Catholics; Grillparzer the Austrian, and Joseph Gœrres, of Coblentz. Manzoni, the most brilliant glory of Italy, was a Catholic. The mighty works of Don Jayme Balmès have shed their rays upon the world and associated the country of Calderon with the efforts of Catholic peoples, in the vast field of literature: *Dominus illuminatio mea.*

M. de Laveleye compares Luther, who was very modest, as we all know, Calvin, Knox and Zwingli, with Rabelais and Voltaire. This is a comparison which Catholics will allow him to draw with all possible serenity, only he should have added Ulric von Hutten to his Protestant list. Catholics will thank him also for having put in their place, alongside of Rabelais and Voltaire, the guilty geniuses of Rousseau, P. L. Courier and Beranger, these idols of contemporary Liberalism, and with having been able to cite as

"absolutists," from among the Catholic literary stars of France, only the names of Bossuet, Fénélon, and Racine. I ask pardon for the latter. His obsequiousness to Louis XIV. never injured, in the mind of the readers, any one but the *Roi Soleil*; it has at least contributed towards giving us *Athalie*, a masterpiece, and the son whom he brought up has sung in immortal verses the wonders of the Catholic faith:

Faux sages, faux savants, indociles esprits,
Un moment, fiers mortels, suspendez vos mépris.
La raison, dites-vous, doit être notre guide:
A tous mes pas aussi cette raison préside,
Sous la divine loi que vous osez braver,
C'est elle-même ici qui va me captiver,
Et parle a tous les cœurs q'elle invite à s'y rendre:
Vous donc qui la vantez, daignez du moins l'entendre.*

It was not Jean Racine, who, after having penned well-studied phrases on the "point of honor," would have accepted from the enemies of Louis XIV. an embassy to America, only to commit suicide there. Fénélon, whose works I do not unreservedly admire, and whose romance, called *Télémaque*, has falsified the political ideas of the French as much as have the historical manuals of the good Rollin, was not an absolutist. He submitted to the regime of the *Roi Soleil*; but he did not write up its principles. As to Bossuet, we will concede a little to M. de Laveleye, who appears to have

* "False sages, false scholars, disobedient spirits, proud mortals, restrain your contempt for an instant. Reason, you say, ought to be your guide: this reason guides me also in every step I take. Under the divine law which you dare to brave, it is the very thing that will captivate me; it speaks to all hearts, and invites them to take refuge with it; do you, then, who boast of it, deign at least to listen to it."

forgotten that this great mind dimmed its own glory by becoming too much the theologian of Gallicanism, an error which was in a certain sense the "Bismarckism" of the seventeenth century in France, that is to say, a thoroughly Liberal error, accepted, moreover, by *all* the Protestant Churches since Luther, as the foundation of the ecclesiastico-civil law.

That the pious Protestants of our time, the "austere Calvinists," the amiable Quakers, the mild Puritans, and even the Gueux of Holland, most of whom were retired revolutionists, have shown themselves more chaste, more moral, more Christian, in a word, than Mirabeau, (the friend of Frederick II.), St. Just and Robespierre, I am not the man who will deny; but what do the Liberals think of this? That sincere Protestantism, that is to say, incomplete Christianity, is superior to paganism, as M. de Laveleye grants, no Catholic will dispute; let us show, however, that the most prominent Liberals are not of this opinion. But I search in vain through M. de Laveleye's pamphlet for a proof of the *moral* superiority of Protestantism over the Universal Church, that Church in which one every day addresses ardent prayers to the holy Virgin, the seat of wisdom, *sedes sapientiæ*, and the mother most chaste, *mater castissima.*

I do not pretend that the inhabitants of Catholic countries become impeccable from the very fact that they accept the Councils of Trent and of the Vatican; it is not enough to have the faith; to render ourselves worthy of it we must practise it, and accomplish works. It is but right to observe also that in Catholic countries,

in Belgium, in France, in the South, East and West of Germany, in Italy, in Spain, in Portugal, etc., etc., political, social and religious revolutions, *provoked by the social influence of Protestantism*, have created a state of things in which it often becomes very difficult, not to say impossible, to distinguish the Catholic populations, properly so-called, from the other social bodies. Everywhere the good grain is mixed with the cockle. One thing is certain, that is, that to take into consideration only the historical point of view, there is not in the annals of humanity a form of worship which has imposed in so absolute a manner the divine precepts contained in the sixth and ninth commandments. How many people would be excellent Catholics if they could suppress these two obstacles that stand in the way of their passions! The worst feature of religious error in the nineteenth century is its having denied the sacramental character of marriage. The evangelical consistory, assembled in council, authorized, in virtue of the *tolerant* maxims of Melanchton, Philip the Magnanimous, Elector of Hesse, to share his throne with two Electresses at the same time. The King of Prussia, Frederick William II., who gave his right hand to the Queen, gave his left to Julia von Voss. This second marriage was *blessed*, on the 25th of May, 1787, in the chapel of the castle of Charlottenburg, by the reverend Zoellner, preacher at the court.

Liberalism, which is, in certain respects, the degenerate offspring of Protestantism, is doctrinally powerless to prevent the natural consequences of the suppression of the sacrament of marriage. Outside the Cath-

olic faith, *practised* in spirit and in truth, one may be chaste in three ways : as a man without love, as a pious Mussulman, or as a eunuch. Thank heaven, there have been, since Henry VIII, the man of seven "successive" wives, myriads of sincere, pious and chaste Protestants, but they were and are so in the name of the principles of the Catholic Church, which, by a strange inconsistency, they practise, whilst opposing them dogmatically ; and the public which has applauded the Liberal homilies of M. de Laveleye, call these Protestants pietists or hypocrites. There are two gates of exit in the Catholic Church, or rather a single gate with two foldings ; the pride of the body, which is voluptuousness, and the voluptuousness of the spirit, which is pride. To assert that the sincere practice of the Catholic faith can engender immorality, one must not have the faintest idea of the organism of the Church and of the spiritual conditions of its existence. Logically it is a contradiction in action.

In fact, morals are more pure in Spain and Italy than in the Protestant countries of the North. I know that, since 1870 especially, people say very much of the immorality of the French, which may have been the ally of the German schoolmaster in leading to the military triumph of Sedan. In the very palace of Louis XIV. at Versailles, during the siege of Paris, the highest military authority of the German army pronounced a grand eulogy on German morals and on those of Berlin ; it is from that epoch that people, when speaking of Berlin, date this phrase, " the city of pious morals and of the fear of God." It is only

too true that in certain parts of France, in the centre especially and in the departments adjoining Paris, there reigns an amount of immorality which makes us fear for the future of the nation. But these departments are precisely those in which the influence of the Catholic Church has been most successfully opposed. These districts, however, are no more immoral than the entire north of Germany, which a person must have lived in to know it thoroughly. I have some knowledge of Mecklenburg and the neighboring provinces; nowhere in France have I witnessed so much baseness, so much gross materialism, so much stupid impurity. Paris is cited, not without reason, as one of the bordels of modern civilization; but this city of pleasures, this rendezvous of the lazy, the idle and the vicious of the entire world has never passed, as far as I know, for a Catholic city: they kill the archbishops there, shoot the hostages, erect resounding tribunes for the implacable enemies of the Church and run thither from the four corners of the world to applaud in the theatres, on the boulevards, in the cafés, in the concert saloons and elsewhere, all the vices which are the concrete negation of Catholic faith and morality. At London, in the capital of the only Protestant country in which Catholics can nowadays derive useful instruction from things which their blind or liberal governments have made them forget, ancient laws of Catholic origin do not permit the public exhibition of elegant or ingenious vice; but is this great city on the whole more moral than Paris? I doubt it. As to the city of Berlin I am certain that it

it is inferior to Paris in respect to morals. Vice does not enjoy there, as at Paris, the vogue organized by men of letters, of art or of the theatre, who, under the most fallacious pretexts, I grant, make you at least laugh quite heartily sometimes, or hold you under the charm of a language and manner worthy of the most polished society; but the vice which stalks abroad at Berlin is gross and brutal, without elegance and without refinement. All the social wounds of France weigh heavily upon it, and the "odors of Paris" are unendurable there. If you wish to appreciate all the hideousness of French vices you must go and examine their translations at London and especially at Berlin where divorce has attained proportions unheard of in the history of Christian peoples. I might speak at great length of all the solid virtues of the German Catholics, and I was personally acquainted, even in the north of Germany, with many Protestant families that might be cited as models, but it would be impossible for me to find, in any large city in the world, as many religious works as there are in Paris. Side by side with the most repulsive moral infections, we see arising the radiant beauty of the charity whose incessant action possesses the marvellous gift of purifying the atmosphere through which it passes. Do you wish to comprehend in a single phrase the abyss which separates the moral condition of Paris from that of London and Berlin. In Paris the Sister of Charity is honored and the Little Sister of the Poor is protected; in London they are beginning to be tolerated; they are proscribed in Berlin.

I read recently in an essay by Dr. Fonsagrives of Montpellier on *Hygiène Sociale :*

"It is stated that there is in Europe an average illegitimacy of 15 natural children in every 100 births. I thought it interesting to compare the amount of illegitimacy throughout the entire of European peoples of German race with what it is among peoples of Latin race, and I have found that for the former it was 15 per cent., and for the latter 6.11. Where, then, is this German morality of which so much has been said in these latter years ?"

In Sweden and Norway immorality is "prodigious." Bayard Taylor wrote, as far back as 1858, that "the Church of Sweden is being slowly petrified by pure inertia." I would be glad to have M. de Laveleye or some other modern Protestant cite for me a man, a book, a work of contemporary Sweden, in the interest of the Christian religion and morality, whose merits entitle it to European notice. "In no Christian communion," says a Scotch Protestant writer, Mr. Laing, "has religion less influence on the moral state of the public. When a man is passing through the streets of Stockholm, he may make this reflection: out of every three persons passing alongside of me there is one that is the fruit of illicit intercourse, and out of every forty-nine, one at least has committed criminal offences." Mr. Inglis, however, another Protestant traveller, does not hesitate to assert that "the standard of morality is much higher in Sweden than in Norway." In this latter country "indifference with regard to religion is general." This will suffice,

I hope, on this subject whose details it is very hard to expound to a Catholic public.

Let us say nothing of the nursery of the Mormons, Denmark, where in 1777 and in 1789, they still decreed the penalty of death against the Catholic priests who should set their foot on the territory of the kingdom. If from Protestant Prussia "the country of pious morals and of the fear of God," if from Sweden, which but lately was the most violently intolerant country in Europe before the publication of the Falk laws, if from Norway, which is still more immoral than Sweden, and that is saying very much, we passed over to Scotland, the most Calvinistic and the most intemperate country in the world, we should have a vile picture to unfold to the eyes of the reader ; we would have to develop this theme of the *Saturday Review* (8th Oct. 1859) :

"It is certain that Scotland presents the spectacle of being the nation that is most completely Puritanized and the most completely addicted to drunkenness that is on the surface of the earth. New York is indisputably the most immoral city in the world ; at Geneva religion is almost unknown ; and at Glasgow the sons of the Covenanters form the population that is most brutalized by drunkenness."

We should also study this other subject, lately pointed out by the *Times :*

"According to a parliamentary document recently published by Parliament and compiled by Dr. Cameron, during the year ending the 30th of June 1875, 61,173 persons were arrested in Scotland for

drunkenness : 38,213 as "drunk and incapable," and 26,960 as "drunk and disorderly."

But we must restrain ourselves. The pages that precede suffice, morever, to prove satisfactorily the futility of M. de Laveleye's incredible arguments. However, before leaving this matter I will cite another book written by Dr. John Forbes, a physician of the Court of England. In his "Memoranda in Ireland in 1852," John Forbes, M. D., physician to her Majesty's household, has established in the following manner the statistics of illegitimate births in the British Isles :

Catholic Ireland has one illegitimate in every 16.47 legitimate births ; England one in every 1.49 ; arch-Protestant Wales one in 0.46.

These proportions are far from being favorable to M. de Laveleye's thesis.

There are others which will somewhat grieve him also. In Ireland the Catholic faith not only embalms patriotism, but also preserves private morals ; in Catholic Connaught there is one illegitimate birth in every 23.53 legitimate ones, whilst in Protestant Ulster there is one in every 7.26.

If I add that the apostle of temperance, the admirable and heroic Father Mathew, came from Connaught,* I will have completely destroyed the obscurities which M. de Laveleye has tried to heap around the glorious purity of Catholic morality.

Let us now pass on to another subject.

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* We have already corrected this mistake.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REFORMATION HAS NOT FAVORED THE DEVELOPMENT OF CIVIL LIBERTIES.

Wherever the Reformation Triumphed it Set up a State Church, Destroyed Civil Liberty, and Forced the Nation to Recede instead of Advancing in the way of Political Progress—Civil and Political Liberties have relatively Flourished only in Countries in which the Leaders of the Reformation did not Succeed in Setting up a State Church, and in which a Large Portion of the Nation Remained Catholic and another portion were Divided into Separate Religious Communities—In Catholic Countries Civil Liberty is Ancient, Absolutism Modern—The Catholic Church *alone* is Capable of Resisting in the midst of a Nation that Contains the Dissolving Element by Virtue of the Civil Liberty of Expressing all Imaginable Opinions, and of Practising every kind of Worship—Demonstration of these Theses by Facts.

M. de Laveleye's essay is devoid of method. One must read and re-read it to discover the connection of his arguments. The author mingles and intermingles the most dissimilar subjects, and renders very arduous the task of his best disposed adversaries. This disorder of his ideas naturally manifests itself in the expression of his thoughts. Thus, the all-important question of the Catholic Church and civil liberties is treated by him in three or four different places with great levity and without logical sequence.

In the chapter which I now take up, and which resembles a book of notes from badly digested readings, he lays down the questions imperfectly; repeats errors and even calumnies a thousand times refuted; takes no

account of the immense labors of the historical criticism of our times; incorrectly defines principles and institutions which he afterwards takes the facile pleasure of blaming, criticising, and even execrating; ignores even the whole of the doctrines which form the basis of the Reformation; reasons upon a fantastical Protestantism; refutes Calvin with the aid of Luther, and Luther by means of Calvin, etc.

I ask the reader's pardon if, in my turn, the necessities of this discussion shall compel me to take the liberty of refuting some charges. However, I will exert every effort to avoid them.

M. de Laveleye pretends that the Reformation has favored the development of civil liberty, whilst the Catholic Church inevitably leads nations to despotism and anarchy. The natural government of Protestant peoples would be the representative regime, whilst Catholics are born for absolutism. This thesis is so diluted by the author, and so feebly developed, that I believe it useless to follow his flimsy argumentation. His principal authority against the Catholics in this matter is Bossuet, the theologian of the Gallican Church, a Church which has affinities with Josephism and Liberalism. If I were inclined to enter into a discussion on this point I could easily prove that the passages quoted from the Bishop of Meaux do not say all that M. de Laveleye thinks they do. I will content myself with denying the authority of Bossuet in matters of civil-ecclesiastical law, and I will abandon to M. de Laveleye the elegant and literary Cæsarism of Louis XIV., and even the whole political developmen

of the French monarchy since Louis XI. (Every one knows that MM. Michelet, L. Blanc, Quinet, Esquiros, etc., already rank this latter among the precursors of the French Revolution.)

As to the very basis of his thesis, M. de Laveleye does not appear to have reflected much upon it, else he would at least know by name the work of Dr. Döllinger, his present ally ("The Church and the Churches"), and those of M. L. Martin and Mr. Marshall, already mentioned. I am going to make extracts from these learned writers and copy them, in a certain sense, for the purpose of giving a rapid demonstration of the following propositions :

1. Wherever the Reformation has triumphed it has set up a State Church,* restrained civil liberty, and forced the nation to recede instead of advancing on the path of political progress.

2. Civil and political liberties have relatively flourished only in countries where the leaders of the Reformation did not succeed in erecting a State Church, in which a large portion of the people remained Catholic, and another portion was divided into separate religious societies.

* Religious unity, maintained by political institutions, is an incalculable benefit. The Catholic Church has never ceased to proclaim this truth. But when Protestants establish State Churches, they act in opposition to the fundamental principle of their religious rebellion. With Protestants the State Church represents to some extent an ecclesiastical State, whilst in the Catholic teaching, religious unity is considered not as a temporal means of government, but as a principle, directing and superior to it. With Protestants the State Church is an instrument of the State.

3. In Catholic countries civil liberty is ancient, absolutism modern.

4. In the midst of a nation, the Catholic Church *alone* is capable of offering a religious resistance, as a form of worship, to the dissolving element contained in the civil liberty of expressing all imaginable sorts of opinions and of practising every species of worship. In drawing up this conclusion I do not pretend to say that this civil liberty is favorable to the propagation of the truth, much less that it is essential to this propagation. I simply state a fact.

Before the sixteenth century, civil toleration in religious matters was unknown in European politics, unless in Rome, where the Jewish religion has been civilly tolerated in the *Ghetto* ever since the fall of the Roman Empire. Outside the Universal Church there never were any except *national* religions, and these are intolerant in their very political essence.

After the coronation of Charlemagne at Rome, Europe was considered as a Christian republic, practising the worship of the Universal Church, and there could be no question of introducing another without ruining the very constitution of the Holy Empire. The Reformation was brought about in the name of liberty of conscience, but in reality it was everywhere the bitterest enemy of this liberty. Wherever the Lutherans and Calvinists have had the mastery, they have suppressed it.

In England, Ireland, Denmark, Sweden, Brandenburg and at Geneva, all the "Reformers," I say all, regarded the oppression of the Catholic Church and

its destruction as the practical conclusion of their teaching : people went so far as to render punishable with death the exercise of the Catholic religion in England, Sweden, at Geneva, etc. These sectaries acted in the same manner against the dissenting sects. Melanchton, the mildest of the "Reformers," demanded that the Anabaptists should expiate their devotion with their blood, and advocated corporal punishment against the Catholics, because it was the duty of the secular power to announce the divine law and cause it to be observed. Calvin declared to the Duke of Somerset, the Regent of England, that he ought to exterminate by the sword all those who would oppose the establishment of Protestantism and particularly the Catholics. According to this apostle of " civil toleration," the punishment of death is based on the principle that we cannot dispute the authority of the prince over the Church without being guilty of an attack upon royalty, which was established by God. His friend Beza, a preacher of the principles of liberty of conscience, maintained that the Anti-Trinitarians ought to be hanged without ceremony, *even when they had retracted.* Lord Burghley, the minister of Queen Elizabeth, that " virgin " queen who condemned a form of worship to the " toleration " of the hangman, had for principle that the security of the State was menaced if two religions were tolerated in it. The chancellor Bacon, himself, thought that a government had reached the " utmost " limits of toleration when it contented itself with exacting an exterior adhesion to the dominant religion without penetrating into the conscience. It

would be impossible to stigmatize too severely this hypocrisy of the authors of a religious revolution, undertaken under the pretence of "enfranchising the human mind."

Catholics were at least faithful to the political traditions of their countries and the naturally intolerant principles of their faith, which is the absolute truth, against which no right can be theoretically invoked, because there is no right against the Right. They defended themselves energetically everywhere, and prevented, wherever they could, the introduction of the Protestant errors, because they knew beforehand the lot which awaited them, in case the innovators should triumph. The "Reformers" went so far as to contest the right of those princes to reign who did not admit their heresy and to declare their deposition allowable and even necessary. The "tolerant" Knox, whose apology Bismarck, who knew what he was saying, pronounced the other day, distinguished himself particularly in the application of this abominable doctrine.

"Luther and Calvin do not preach resistance to tyranny," exclaims M. de Laveleye; "they rather condemn it and strongly advocate obedience." But history teaches that Luther, in a work in which he boasts very loudly of the "evangelical liberties," incited the peasants to rise up against their princes. When the War of the Peasants menaced the existence of the Protestant principalities, Luther's protectors asked him to intervene, and this pioneer of toleration wrote a fresh pamphlet, as we now say, to curse the peasants

for having so well applied the conclusions of his former writings. These two contradictory lampoons deserve to be placed side by side with the famous dispensation to cover the bigamy of the Landgrave of Hesse.

After these short but decisive general considerations, let us cast a cursory glance at the Protestant peoples and the civil institutions which their religious novelties inspired. Look first at Sweden, whose brutal intolerance and unheard of immorality I am already tired of citing. A law ordained that every man who should remain more than one year outside the communion of the national Church should be banished. Banishment was also to be the fate of him who would employ, in theological matters, expressions "which might shock the national Church," and would not retract them. In Sweden the king is "the supreme inspector and terrestrial head of the Church. He unites in himself the highest temporal and the highest spiritual power. He causes his power to be exercised over the Church by the administration of the royal cabinet, of which the minister of foreign affairs is president." Undoubtedly the first time that Bernadotte exercised such functions he must have made great efforts to preserve his equanimity. When Gustavus Vasa wished to pervert the inhabitants of Helsingland, he wrote to them that, unless they became Lutherans on the spot, he would order an opening to be made in the ice on Lake Deel in which he would have them all drowned. The sword, imprisonment, exile and, in these latter times, fines have always been considered in Sweden as means of civil

toleration. If M. de Laveleye taught in a Swedish university, he would be severely punished for offering the slightest insult to the religion of the State, and would, perhaps, be obliged to seek for refuge in Belgium under the paternal ægis of the government of this intolerant M. J. Malou. Charles IX and his son Gustavus Adolphus had Catholics who were attached to their faith beheaded. When, at the end of the seventeenth century and in the beginning of the eighteenth, several Swedes like Ulstadius, Schaefer, Ulhagius and Molin, abandoned the doctrine of imputation, which is the foundation of Lutheranism, and spoke of the necessity of good works, Schaefer and Ulhagius were put to death, Molin was exiled, Ulstadius was shut up in a prison where he meditated for thirty years upon the toleration of the Swedish Church.

The introduction of Protestantism into the countries of northern Europe resembles the workings of an immense "ring," organized by a coalition of depraved priests and plundering laymen, of the king and the nobility who coveted uncontrollable power and the Church's property, of regulars weary of their rule, weary of continence, weary of Lent etc., and of seculars desirous of civilly "regularizing" their immorality. This "reformation" must be studied on the spot, with the light of the history of the sixteenth century, with the intelligence of ancient institutions and "modern progress." I have studied this question, and I might speak of it at great length. The people have been literally deceived.

Gustavus Vasa always refused to acknowledge that he was introducing a new doctrine. Fifty years later a portion of the people still believed that they were Catholics. It was only gradually that Sweden became conscious of being a Lutheran country. The Lutheran Church became in Sweden an instrument of administration and of police, an "appendage to the numerous class of military and civil functionaries," says the Swedish historian, Geijer. Moreover, whatever M. de Laveleye may say of the profound peace which Protestant peoples enjoy, Sweden has been in a perpetual state of revolution for 300 years. The anarchy of which contemporary Spain has too often been the example is only child's play compared with the Swedish revolutions, which deposed two kings, Sigismund and Gustavus IV., and killed three, Eric XIV., Charles XII. and Gustavus III. Finally, the Swedes have driven their love of sedition so far as to repudiate their national dynasty, and give up their kingdom to a soldier of fortune, an offspring of the French Revolution. In Sweden the Reformation has produced no result but the domination of the nobility, of which royalty was the complacent instrument. To get rid of the national masses, they erected royalty into an absolute power, in conformity with the precepts of the Renaissance and of the apostles of the Reformation. In 1680 the States declared that the king is bound to no form of government. In 1682 the same States proclaimed that they regarded it as an "absurdity" that the king should be obliged by statutes to first hear the States. In 1693 royalty was declared

absolute. Charles XII. sent word one day to the Diet that he would send his boots to preside over it, "or to have them blackened," as they would say in Liberal Belgium. After the murder of this amiable free-thinker, "Swedish liberty," that is to say, the domination of the nobility, was reëstablished, and the most scandalous revolutions succeeded one another until the murder of Gustavus. Lutheran Sweden was then nothing more than a "gambling house of intrigue and political corruption." Finland became Russian, and the kingdom found a more or less reparatory political rest only in the arms of a French Catholic general who thought that the crown was well worth an abjuration. Sweden is still asleep. Without Linnæus, Berzelius, and Geijer it would be to-day as little known among us as the Indians of Lake Maracaibo. Behold what Protestantism has made of the land of the sainted King Eric IX. M. de Laveleye, erase Sweden from your enchanting table of civil liberty!

Cancel Denmark also. Molesworth, an Englishman, who was thoroughly conversant with the history of the Protestants of the North, wrote so long ago as 1692 : " In the Roman Catholic religion, with its supreme head who is at Rome, there is a principle of opposition to unlimited political power. But in the North the Lutheran Church is completely subject to the civil power and reduced to a state of servitude. All the peoples of Protestant countries have lost their liberties since they changed their religion for a better." In Denmark Lutheranism had completely triumphed.

What was the result of this victory? Herr Barthold, a Protestant historian of Berlin, replies: "The peasant was anew submitted to the savage like a dog; the citizens, deprived of every means of defence, groaned beneath the weight of oppression and the military regime. The North was Lutheran, but the king and the nobility shared the sovereignty between them, and the children of the preachers themselves and of the sacristans were serfs." The nobility seized not only upon the ecclesiastical property but even on the free lands of the peasantry. Mr. Allen, in his History of Denmark, which the Academy of Copenhagen has crowned, and acknowledged to be the best book of its kind, says: "The farmers of the great ecclesiastical domains had to exchange the mild administration of the clergy for the crushing yoke of the nobility. The services were arbitrarily multiplied, the peasants were treated as serfs. Agriculture, being neglected, fell below the level which it had reached in the Middle Ages. The population diminished. The country was covered with deserted habitations." In a short time the clergy and the middle classes in their turn felt in their civil capacity the progress of the Reformation. Eight or nine hundred nobles reigned as masters over a country which was no longer defended by the apostolical liberty of which the Catholic Church has the incorruptible deposit. Christian IV. (1588-1648) tried to break this absolutism. He failed. The revolution of 1660 was more successful; the despotism of the nobility was overturned, but the great body of the

people gained nothing by it. Frederic III. and his successors declared themselves absolute kings. A law of 1665 proclaimed that the king had not to take any oath, nor to acknowledge an obligation of any kind whatever, but could do all that he pleased with a full and entire authority. What a disgrace for a people! Let men compare with this ignominy the oath of the Catholic kings of Aragon before the Renaissance, the obligations of the kings of Castile, our Belgian charters and those of the Basque provinces, which are still in existence, and, with his hand on his conscience, let him make a choice. In 1687 the misery of the Danish peasants was such that a fifth of the properties formerly cultivated by them remained fallow. In 1702 Frederic VI. abolished serfage to make way for another sort of tyranny: the peasant "was attached to the soil." During the eighteenth century entire villages disappeared in the gulf of misery caused by an illiterate and shameless absolutism. Schools were lacking. In 1766 popular instruction was, so to say, null. At the end of the eighteenth century scarcely one person out of every twenty knew how to read. In 1805 personal liberty was accorded, for the first time, to 20,000 (I say twenty thousand) families of serfs. In a petition addressed in 1714 to King Frederic IV., the bishops of Norway, the country of St. Olaf II., already made the following avowal: "With the exception of a small number of the children of God, there is between us and our pagan ancestors only one difference, that is that we bear the name of *Christians*." The provincial States re-established by Frederic VI. did not limit the royal absolut

ism in Denmark. An observer favorable to the Danes, the Scotchman Laing, whom I have already cited, made this remark in 1839 :

"As the Danes are completely passive with regard to politics, and never raise their voice to discuss their own affairs, they are yet found to be, in spite of the great number of excellent ordinances decreed by the government, in the same condition in which they were in 1660. They are two centuries behind the age, compared with the Scotch, the Dutch, and the *Belgians*, with whom at first sight they might be compared under the relation of population and their general situation."

From the Danes let us pass to their co-religionists, the German Lutherans. In Germany, says the Prussian Protestant historian, Herr H. Leo, "the natural result of the reformation was that this power of the princes and the cities of the empire (that of the functionaries) increased considerably, and that, on the contrary, the liberty of the mediate nobility, of the peasants and that of the State was annihilated." It would be really too long and even fastidious to show here the development of this conclusion, unfortunately too true, in the different Protestant States : Mecklenburg where serfage was abolished only in 1829; Pomerania where the States General were suppressed almost immediately under the first Protestant duke; the duchies of Hanover and Brunswick where the oral procedure and the States General disappeared before the absolutism of the prince, and where the historian would find nothing to glean, from the beginning of the seventeenth century, but the vulgar gossip of the table

and the alcove, if the illustrious memory of Leibnitz, who had no repugnance for Catholic sentiments, did not hover over this country, etc., etc. Time and space are wanting to me. Let us speak only of the electorate of Brandenburg, the model of the States that are "defenders of civil liberties and of toleration."

The reader will remember that the malady of the Reformation was innoculated only by degrees into Brandenburg, and into Prussia, which was wrested, as is well known, from the Teutonic Order. During the whole of the sixteenth century there was a certain amount of hesitation in the Hohenzollern princes. The weak Duke Albert, the Elector Joachim and his son, John-George, on account of their disorders, had need of the concurrence of the States which served the cause of good as well as that of evil in the sixteenth century. Even from the beginning of the seventeenth century, the convocation of the States was at first interrupted; after 1656 no diet was ever again convoked —whilst the French were ruining the Palatinate, according to the military custom of the lansquenets and reiters of the time, the "great" Elector was administratively devastating his own States. His government differed in no respect from those of Sweden and Denmark, either in despotism or in grossness. Prussia, according to the expression of the historian Stenzel, was on the way to become one of those Asiatic States in which despotism crushes everything that is noble and beautiful. War and the passion for the chase, which the Elector satisfied by employing there-

in 3,000 men, were the two "ideas" which the nation had to favor while exhausting its strength. Thus were the slavery and serfage which were oppressing the peasant rigorously maintained. Frederic I., the first king *in* Prussia, by the gift of the Emperor Leopold of Hapsburg, continued the same system of "toleration." It was he who invented for his court, copied after that of Versailles, the charge of the *mistress*. The Countess of Wartenburg had to perform the duties of this honorary charge, to walk every day in company with the King for half an hour in the royal gardens, in presence of the courtiers, the ancestors of those who at present express such fine phrases on the corruption of the French. Frederic William I. (1713-1740), drove absolutism to puerility. His anecdotes are found in all the humorous almanacs; I need not repeat them. Under this ignoble reign the Protestant pastors were less than corporals. I suppose that there is no serious writer in Europe who would dare to transform Frederic II. into a protector of civil liberty. A disciple of Voltaire, who received one day from his Prussian majesty, or by his orders, a branch of green wood, could alone be satisfied with the political principles of this witty and mischievous king. Frederic II. granted but *one* liberty: under his reign, each one could "save himself after his own manner," provided, however, that the "majesty of the laws" enacted by this despot was not interfered with. Is not this saving one's self after one's own manner the crowning point of liberalism for the immense majority of the present adversaries of the Cath-

olic Church? Toellner cites a work of Frederic II.* in which this freethinker clearly reveals that the principal cause of his contempt for Christianity came from the disgust with which ecclesiastical history, as presented by the Protestants, inspired him. For him this history was only a drama played by knaves and hypocrites, at the expense of the masses, their dupes and victims.

I here stop in the expression of the thoughts with which the later history of Prussia inspires me, in the point of view of civil liberty. We are no longer free, even in Belgium, to appreciate this history correctly. Look at what is taking place under our eyes; and if you have the hardihood to transform what you see into a work of civil liberty, I will call you pharisees. Not only will I discuss no more, but I will prepare myself for self-defence, as if my personal liberty were menaced, just exactly as in the glorious times of Luther, Calvin, and the Gueux of Holland.

When "civil liberty" is not made to consist merely in the gross hatred of the Catholic Church, we may acknowledge that the Belgian provinces, from the departure of the Duke of Alva to the importation of the "immortal principles of '89" on the point of the bayonets of the army of Dumouriez, enjoyed much more freedom than the Calvinistic Netherlands. The recent labors of Professor Poullet of Louvain throw floods of light on this historical point. During two centuries Holland

* Preface to the book entitled: *Abrégé de l'histoire ecclesiastique de Fleury.* Berne (Berlin), 1767.—M. de Prades is the author of this book, and Frederick II. wrote the preface.

was torn by the spirit of faction, and it was saved from the absolutism of the House of Orange only by the partial failure of the Calvinists. If Holland had become entirely Calvinist it would have experienced the political fate of Sweden, Prussia, and Denmark. "The Reformed Church of Holland," says the Protestant Niebuhr, "has been grossly tyrannical, and can be praised neither for intellect nor for the common sense of its doctrines. Calvinism has shown everywhere, in Holland, in Scotland, and at Geneva, a desire for blood equal, at least, to that of the Inquisition, and has nowhere revealed a single one of the merits of the Catholic religion." The absolutism of Calvinism and of the House of Orange was stopped by the formation of new sects and by the obstinate fidelity of a large portion of the people to the Catholic Church. The Catholics, deprived of all political rights, always served as a support to the opposition party, and this rendered impossible the omnipotence of the dominant Church. The execution of Barneveld and the murder of the brothers De Witt remind us also that Protestant Holland is not in a position to reproach Spain, for example, with the number of its revolutions. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the fury of the rebels called in even foreign intervention, a thing which the Catholic Spaniards have never tolerated. The Dutch have allowed to come among them successively the Prussians, the French and the English. In 1787 the Prussians, masters of Amsterdam, protected the Orangists. In 1795, a comrade of Bernadotte reduced Holland to the condition of a chapel of ease to the French Republic.

The Dutch were so enervated by their political revolutions that they even mimicked the Jacobins of Paris.

In the point of view of civil liberties Holland offers, however, a more consoling spectacle than all the other Protestant nations. Calvinism was the State religion but the States General guaranteed, in different degrees and according to the different epochs, a certain liberty to dissenters, Arminians, Lutherans, Mennonites and other sects that came from abroad. The Catholics alone, forming two-fifths of the population, were oppressed, and even pitilessly so, down to the present generation. The States General protected Spinoza and Bayle, but they proscribed the religious liberties of the coreligionists of Fénélon and Malebranche. All the filth of the literature of the eighteenth century has been reprinted in Holland; St. Vincent de Paul would not be permitted to preach there.

It is in Scotland that we observe most clearly what becomes of fabricated religions. Lord Clarendon said in 1660 of the Scotch: "All their religion consists in having a horror of Papacy." To encounter horrors of this kind it is not necessary to visit the country of Knox. Few "apostles of toleration" have driven ha tred of the truth as far as has this fanatic. Like the o ther "Reformers," he declared that it belonged specially to the civil power to regulate all that concerns religion. He caused the punishment of death to be decreed against any one who would twice celebrate the holy sacrifice of the mass. Under the inspiration of Calvinism an ecclesiastical tyranny was organised in Scotland of which we can hardly form an idea at pres-

ent, and of which we ought to read the description in the "Domestic Annals" of Mr. Robert Chambers: the private life of citizens was subjected to an Asiatic inquisition. Nowhere, not even at Geneva, was such a despotism ever seen. It was broken only in 1713, when Parliament refused to it the support of the secular arm. Fortunately, also, the crown, supported by the Parliament, forced the Calvinists to tolerate the introduction of the Episcopal Church.

It is in reality only since 1735 that there has reigned a "certain" liberty in Scotland. Then, and then only, the poor Highlanders, who remained attached to the Catholic faith, were permitted to descend from their mountains to practise the religion of their ancestors and to teach England the spiritual power of the religion of Edward the Confessor.

I have said enough of England. Of the Puritans and Quakers there is no more question now, and M. de Laveleye seeks in vain to shape a pedestal for them. No one around him will understand him, not even Mr. Gladstone. No more will I lose time in describing the anarchy of the Protestant sects, or (as Dr. Döllinger formerly put it) of the Protestant denominations in the United States. I will only recall a memorable fact: since the wild preachings of Luther a single and only one sincere attempt at a regime of civil and religious liberty was attempted in the world before Washington's time, and by whom? By Catholics. I mean the foundation of Maryland (Terra Mariæ), by Lord Baltimore. And who destroyed this regime in which this illustrious Catholic invited all the Protestant sects to

take part? The Puritans, Quakers, &c,—Protestants.

In so hasty a sketch as this I can only point out the principal facts. I imagine, however, that those which I have mentioned will suffice to prove the rigorous exactitude of my two former propositions, namely, that Protestantism has ruined civil liberty wherever it has had the preponderance; and that in a political point of view it has provoked a retrograde movement among the peoples that have experienced its fatal influences.

In Catholic nations liberty is old, despotism modern. England is the living proof of this proposition. The country which at present gives the clearest idea of what European peoples would be if Protestantism or the Renaissance had not stifled among them the development of the institutions that sprung from the great and fruitful movement of the thirteenth century, is the united Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. All the civil liberties of England, save that of worship, *which dates from our age*, existed before the birth of Luther. England alone escaped the evil influences of the pagan Renaissance, which the Catholic Church has combated and still combats. If Great Britain separated from the Church of Rome, it was under a form which still appears too Catholic to the reformers of our time. In effect, the Episcopal system of England, essentially Catholic, is the negation of the fundamental principle of Protestantism. All the fruitful things of England date from the Catholic ages or are essentially Catholic; all that the present situation of England includes of dangerous is a result of the religious revolution commanded by Henry VIII.

France, Spain, Austria, Portugal and Italy, have escaped, I acknowledge, the consequences of the Reformation only to fall into the generative error of the Renaissance, Cæsarism, or its more modern form, Liberalism. Their misfortune has been less great than that of Protestant nations, but they have suffered and are still suffering none the less from this great fault. To become free once more Catholics require only "the liberty of the children of God," that which grants them the free profession of their religion and which gives to their Church the civil liberty of practising its worship and its teachings. Protestant nations, themselves, are becoming free only by ceasing to be Protestant, or at least only at the price of the visible decay of their worship. This double phenomenon, which is foretold in the Scriptures and in our catechisms, may be observed in our epoch with a precision which leaves no room for doubt.

Ubi Petrus ibi Ecclesia. In the political language of our time this phrase of St. Ambrose may be thus translated: Where the Pope is there is liberty.

Outside Christianity there is no civil liberty. Ancient liberty was based on slavery, which Aristotle, the prince of pre-Christian philosophy, justified "rationally." The integral Christian truth is found only in the Universal Church, which is that of the Pope; and without truth there is no liberty. *Cognoscetis veritatem et veritas liberabit vos.*

Let us raise our intelligences above our miserable differences on questions of persons or on distinctions of words, and let us consider in its entirety the history

of the Universal Church from the martyrdom of St. Peter to the injuries with which the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius IX., is overwhelmed, whom may God preserve and make to live to the age of John. During these eighteen centuries the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church has found itself in open hostility with all the errors of which the spirit of evil is capable, but it has triumphed over all, from the hatred of the Jews, who stoned St. Stephen, to the brutality of the savages who shot the late Archbishop of Paris. Christians have never doubted of it, since it is written that the gates of hell shall never prevail against the Church of Peter. But it is not useless to prove to unbelievers, by experience, that what was written has been realized. The distinction of the two powers, as one would say in school, that is to say, the source of civil liberty, has been revealed to humanity by the Gospel; it was unknown to paganism. Christians, the best instructed, as well as the least intelligent, know by faith that this distinction of the two powers is henceforward the condition of social life, and they do not doubt that it will remain intact until the consummation of the world, until the day when all the distinctions of this world will disappear to make way for the truth which is eternally one. But, as doubts may arise somewhere, I am going to show, by the exterior history of the Church of Rome, that it alone in the world has known how to maintain, alongside the purity of the faith in Jesus Christ, the integrity of the civil liberties.

When the fisherman of Galilee, called St. Peter, arrived at Rome, which he surnamed "Babylon" (I.

Peter, v. 13), to establish his see there, the empire, in the apogee of its greatness, presented the spectacle of a grand corruption and an unparalleled despotism which the literary world knows from Tacitus and Juvenal, of which the Christians have been the witnesses, and whose living history we possess in the Acts of the Martyrs. From the crucifixion of the first Pope on the hill of the Vatican to the universal edict of toleration published in 313 by Constantine, during three centuries, the blood of the Catholics washed away the infamies of the old world. It is from the depths of the catacombs that civil liberty has sprung, and it was with just reason that Julian the Apostate exclaimed when dying: "Galilean, thou hast conquered!" How many apostates of our time have made the same avowal!

Then come the barbarians. Who will stay their progress? The Roman Empire or the Church, the sons of Theodosius or Pope St. Leo the Great? When the Roman Empire of the West became extinct in 476, in an infant's cradle, that of Romulus Augustulus, the Roman Church had induced the savages of the North to accept the torch of the faith which was the only light of civil society. "It is not by constraint and violence that Christians ought to overturn error," exclaimed St. John Chrysostom; "it is by persuasion, instruction and charity." From Pope St. Gregory the Great to Pope St. Nicholas the Great, this work of spiritual sanctification and civil culture was uninterrupted. St. Gregory civilizes England, and St. Nicholas appoints as Archbishop of Bremen and Hamburg St. Ansgar, the Apostle of the North of Europe.

During these nine first centuries what became of the sects of the Arians, the Manicheans, the Nestorians, etc.? They were an historical cloud of dust, which disappeared before Asiatic despotism. What is the schism of Photius, the Greek Church, going to become when separated from the Pope? Byzantinism, a word which designates at the same a Church without expansion and a society without civil liberty.

Charlemagne, founding the Holy Roman Empire of the Teutonic nation, is crowned by the Sovereign Pontiff, and accepts the charge of maintaining civil liberty in the West, which was incessantly menaced by the invasion of fresh hordes of barbarians, or by the rudeness of the old ones.

In a short time, under the weak successors of the great Emperor, civil authority is threatened with fresh dangers: the abuses of the feudal system, political anarchy, serfage under all its forms, the right of force, etc. Without the Catholic Church it would be all over with civil liberty.

The communal era begins. Among the first protectors of communal liberty, I perceive in Italy a Pope, Alexander II. Who resists the Germanic Cæsars when they endeavor to transplant the laws and customs of Byzantium to Europe? The Church of Rome. Without the perseverance of Catholic peoples, without the fidelity of the Catholic hierarchy, without the indomitable moral energy of myriads of Catholic bishops and monks, without the supreme resistance of the successors of St. Peter, of a Gregory VII., an Innocent III., a Boniface VIII., and all the others, the coalition of in-

continent priests and German Cæsarism would have triumphed as early as the middle of the Middle Ages.

From the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the attempt at a universal Germanic neo-Cæsarism had failed, the jurists and liberals took up the important work in a subordinate manner. To comprehend the great danger of this action to the liberty of Europe, it suffices to read the consultations of the doctors of Bologna, brought by Frederick Barbarossa to the Diet of Roncaglia, and the civil code written by Pierre Desvignes for Frederic II. at Naples, Frederick II. who was freely enjoying himself going about through Sicily with a Mussulman body-guard, and living like an Oriental pasha, minus the piety. The maternal solicitude of the Roman Church delivered Christendom from these new perils.

When the partial success of Protestantism had broken the moral unity of the Christian republic, the principle admitted in the empire of the distinction of the two powers had henceforward for rampart nothing more than the strength, so to say personal or hereditary, of the House of Hapsburg. The Church did not the less persist in its immutability, and it is to its protection that we owe our preservation from the decadence with which we were menaced at the same time by the pagan materialism of the Renaissance, the absolutism of the Protestant princes, the rigorism of the Jansenists, and the invasions of the Turks. If Europe did not entirely escape the heavy blows of the revolutions of the sixteenth century, if it had to witness the corruption of so many salutary civil institutions which the Middle Ages had

made to flourish, if we have seen a revival of all the theories and practices of the imperial Roman law, our Catholic ancestors at least found, thanks to the unshaken attitude of the Church of Rome, a *modus vivendi* which will prevent Europe from descending to the bottom of the moral scale, where we have known Sweden, Denmark, Russia, and even England, to be.

The Turks no longer appear to us to be an object of dread, because we are generally ignorant of their former power at a time when our ancestors added to their litanies : From the fury of the Turks, O Lord, deliver us. But we can at least judge in Africa, Asia and the Peninsula of the Balkans of the fatal consequences which the political greatness of the Osmanlis has had for the civil liberty of the peoples whom they have conquered. Who has saved Europe from this corroding influence? The Church of Rome. In 732 a Catholic army, under the command of a Franc chief, Charles Martel, stopped the progress of the Mussulmans at Poitiers. For seven centuries the Catholic Spaniards continued to render their name illustrious for the defence of civil liberties in combating the Mohammedans who established themselves in their country. It is to Pope St. Pius V. that we owe the victory of Lepanto. It was the Catholic peoples of the Austrian Empire, the Catholic Hapsburgs, John Sobieski and his Poles who stopped the course of the Turks on the Danube and prevented modern Europe from resembling the Herzegovina and Bosnia of our own days.

I have just pronounced the name of Poland which Montalembert on one occasion called " the Niobe of

nations." Its civil liberty, its secular institutions, its independence, its religion, and even its name, have been ravished, in the midst of peace, from this heroic people, by a coalition of Lutherans, schismatics and Febronians. The English Minister, Mr. Harris, afterwards first Earl of Malmesbury, who assisted at this international crime, having rendered an account of the facts to his government, the Earl of Suffolk, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, tranquilly replied : "It is a curious transaction." One man alone protested in Europe : the Pope. *Ubi Petrus ibi Libertas.* Where the Pope is there is liberty.

I have sketched the picture of the ruins caused by Protestantism in civil society. I might add to it that of the noble resistance of the Church of Rome to the excesses of modern Cæsarism, Gallicanism, Josephism, "Sans-culottism," and Bonapartism. The greatest despot of modern times met with invincible resistence only twice ; from the Catholic Spaniards and from Pius VII. Contemporary Liberalism, the Arianism of the nineteenth century, perceives before it only one insurmountable obstacle, that is, the immovable rock of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church, which will triumph over this error as it has triumphed over the others. I will not enter at this point into the development of this subject which would bring me outside the bounds of this work. I reply, moreover, only to assertions. After having accumulated the proofs and facts, I ought to be allowed in my turn to terminate this part of the discussion by an affirmation which is at this moment demonstrated by the

facts in Germany, Switzerland and elsewhere : anti-Catholic Liberalism is for the civil liberty of modern Europe an immense danger against which there is no other remedy than the practice of the Catholic religion. A man of science, a Christian like M. de Laveleye (I ought to consider him as such since he asserts it), should leave to others the charge of managing the trowel with the aid of which certain *pourfendeurs de clerical* scrape the walls of the impregnable fortress of the Church. If he reads the encyclicals "*Mirari vos*" and "*Quanta cura,*" with calm and reflection, he will find in them no principle which could be rejected by any sincere mind. The whole Christian edifice is an enormous fraud or else these encylicals are the expression of the supreme truth. Free them from the secular style of the Pontifical chancellorship, as you know how to do with a sentence of the old courts of England or even with our court of cassation ; place yourself on the footing of absolute right, the only one to which the sovereign Pontiff pays any regard ; call to mind that the Pope, when he treats of such subjects, speaks for all ages ; consider the present errors which have provoked these doctrinal decisions ; read over again the minutes of those great trials; reflect seriously, humbly, as an attentive, instructed and learned person ought to do in all the great circumstances of life ; and with your hand on your conscience come to a conclusion. I have said and written it, and I repeat that the Popes of our generation, in pronouncing these doctrinal sentences which ignorance or hatred disfigures, in defining with the authority which be-

longs to the "science" of the Church of Jesus Christ of eighteen centuries' standing, the absolute conditions of the Christian truth in its relations with the political or civil law, the Popes of our generation have rendered to our age a service which will earn for them the blessings of posterity.

I know the part which certain foolish individuals pretend to take from these judgments of admirable wisdom and penetrating foresight; I know that under certain religious waggeries are sometimes concealed the narrow spirit of coteries and the pride of some men who forget that "the faith is a gift from God;" I hear the imprecations which are launched against all the truly good things of our time by "malcontents" who would have used the same language in the time of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Dominick; but what I know, see or hear, around or within the environs of the Church cannot prevent me from admiring the brilliant light which it makes to shine in all directions. Blind, indeed, are they who do not see it.

Ubi Petrus ibi Libertas. Where the Pope is there is liberty.

M. de Laveleye dares to write that Catholic peoples are fatally condemned to despotism and anarchy, that they alternately become the prey of absolutism and revolution. Political absolutism is contrary to the essence of the Church, and it is superabundantly proved by the history of our times that Catholics are being subjected to revolutions, but are causing none. If, then, there is a despotism or a revolution anywhere, be sure that the friends or the allies of M. de Laveleye are at

least reaping the benefits of it, if they are not its authors.

The Catholics are factious. Long ago, Nero, a very liberal man in politics, but rather rude in the expression of his opinions, was so minded. It was only for this motive that he ordered St. Paul to be beheaded and St. Peter crucified, both of whom were provoking civil war in the empire. There is a fable of Lafontaine, the Wolf and the Lamb, in which the same stern logic is employed by Mr. Wolf.

We are also told that the Catholic faith engenders religious indifference, whilst the Protestant sects are kindling fires of fervor. Yes, I am personally acquainted with very fervent Protestants, pious men, of whom I deem it an honor to be the friend, but the profound respect with which their elevated character and the purity of their lives inspires me should not prevent me from replying to M. de Laveleye that he assumes his desires or opinions to be realities. I will not waste my ink in showing that the Catholic Church is not in a state of decadence. If you really believe that the Roman Church is menaced with ruin, let it fall, and take no more concern about it than about the religion of India or that of the Celestial Empire.

Let us mention in passing that scientific unbelief and that of the higher or "enlightened" classes began in England, whence it passed into France. A French gentleman, after a certain manner, passed some time in England. When he returned to the court of Louis XIV. the latter asked him: "What have you gone to England to learn?" "To think, Sire." "On the

horses?" replied the king. As to Biblical and philosophical rationalism it originated in Germany. M. E. Renan is a pupil, if not a plagiarist, of Herr Strauss: this moral filiation in error does not date from our times.

After having drawn a picture of the organism of the Catholic Church, which denotes a profound ignorance of the Catechism (let M. de Laveleye allow me to tell him gruffly), he affirms that civil society necessarily tends to shape itself after the religious form which dominates in it. Save one reserve which I will make further on, there is some truth in this last observation. I take hold of it to assert that a perfect civil society would be that in which the Catholic religion would be sincerely practised by every citizen. The argument might also be retorted against its author. In effect, in making the defence of Protestantism of what sect does he mean to speak? He does not tell us, because, in his error, he only adheres to the Protestant *principle*, that is to say, to religious individualism, to subjectivism. Substantially, he reasons like the philosophers of the time of St. Ambrose (there is nothing new in these matters since the fourth century). Proclus said: "The philosopher does not confine himself to such or such a national form of worship; he is not a stranger to any form of religion, for he is the high priest of the universe." The prefect Symmachus (governor or burgomaster, as we would now say) exclaimed, I think, at a public banquet: "What matter by which way we arrive at the truth? It is so mysterious that there must be many ways leading to it." But if it is on subjectivism that civil society should be mod-

eled, this latter will tend in politics to the anarchy of M. Proudhon.

The same remark may be applied to the incredible little dissertation of the author on the infallibility of the magistracy of the Holy Apostolic See. The infallibility is not absolute. If M. de Laveleye does not know it, let him learn it from one of the children who attend the catechism in the nearest church. The civil society which will take the Catholic form as a model will not, then, submit to an absolute human authority. In this Church the pontifical authority is no more terrible than the paternal authority in the family. Of the two authorities, of which one is natural and the other spiritual, the first is tempered by love and by the civil law, and the second by the grace of God and the very constitution of the Church. I ask every unprejudiced man, what is there terrible in the authority of our Holy Father, Pope Pius IX?

When I said a little while ago that there was some truth in M. de Laveleye's observation touching the influence that the dominant form of worship of a people has over the form of civil society, I should, however, have made one reserve, which will prove the *religious* care with which a Catholic ought to maintain the principle of the necessary distinction of the two powers: the analogy between the form of religious society and the form of civil society is not *necessary*, for the source of the two societies is different, and this difference is the religious guarantee of civil liberty. The form of religious society is divine and determined by the will of its Founder, the form of human society (ar-

istocracy, democracy, monarchy, &c.) is of human origin. St. Thomas, an "Ultramontane," as M. de Laveleye would say, regards monarchy tempered by aristocracy and democracy, as the best form of government, whilst Bossuet, the chief of Gallicanism, is an absolutist in politics. This comparison deranges M. de Laveleye's reasoning somewhat.

Since the conversion of Constantine, and, more recently, since the coronation of Charlemagne as temporal head of the Christian Republic, civil society had, under the maternal ægis of the Church, followed a development which the false ideas of the Renaissance came to embarrass and whose unity was broken by the Protestant revolution. Since the sixteenth century European society is morally dismembered, and the secular institutions which the people had gained with difficulty and successively to defend the dignity of political life and civil liberties, have not been any more developed; they have been corrupted, have fallen into desuetude, or have been violently torn from the popular entrails. All these ruins have been the handiwork of the Renaissance and of Protestantism. The French Revolution, in substituting pure rationalism for the subjective Christianity of the Protestants, has not been guilty of an innovation; it has given to its predecessor, the revolution of the sixteenth century, only a new application, much more dangerous to Protestantism than to the Universal Church. In effect, the Protestant governments suppressed the civil liberty of Catholics; the French Revolution had at least the pretence of giving liberty to all forms of wor-

ship. The positive consequences of this innovation have been a new efflorescence of the Catholic Church, and a weakening of the official Protestant sects, the Anglican Church, the Church of Knox, the Church of Calvin, the Church of the Confession of Augsburg, the Church of the Catechism of Heidelberg, the Church of the Prussian *Union*, &c. Without the secular arm Protestantism, based on the subjectivism of individual liberty, might be indefinitely divided into small bodies, whilst the Universal Church can not only dispense with the secular arm, but even go down again into the Catacombs. The more the Catholic Church will be persecuted, the stronger will it become. *Sanguis martyrum semen Christianorum.* This truth has become an historical truism.

So, we have almost returned to a religious situation analagous to that of the fourth century.

You believed in your prejudices, in your ignorance or in your hatred, that the Catholic Church, admitting no *purely* individual and subjective faith, would crumble like a human institution when it would be despoiled of its political prerogatives and abandoned, without any temporal defence, to the attacks of unbelievers. Whilst proclaiming, along with the Holy See, the inalienable, imprescriptible, absolute rights of the Christian Church, which is the Church of God, we have sincerely accepted this, for you, new situation, and after having repaired the ruins which you had provoked in your temple, we began to make shine around you the glowing power of the truths of which we have the deposit.

You were beginning to acknowedge that you have been deceived. In England, in America, in Germany, in Switzerland, the Catholic Church has shone with a new light. You yourselves are frightened at what you have done. The Belgian Liberals who voted the Belgian Constitution are called "dupes." Prince Bismarck and M. Carteret do not wish to be dupes. Even yesterday (October 9th, 1875) M. de Laveleye sent to the *Indépendance Belge* an economical homily in which I read:

"The new political economy does not admit the theory of a State of gendarmes; it does not believe that the State has fulfilled its mission when it makes order reign. It revives the Greek notion which considers the State as the emanation of whatever wisdom, light and virtue there is in the world, and which consequently sees in it a civilizing agent, an instrument of progress. It is this theory that has made the immortal greatness of Athens and the so extraordinary fortune of Prussia."

The "new political economy" of M. de Laveleye is the radical refutation of his old religious thesis. In effect the individualistic subjectivism of Protestantism does not conciliate itself with this doctrine. This contradiction is a new proof of the confusion into which anti-Catholic prejudices have thrown it.

After such an avowal, let M. de Laveleye come and tell us of the imaginary contradictions of Catholics. I will show him his own in action; And I will add:

When you look for a contradiction between the teachings of the Church and the fidelity of Catholics

to the Belgian constitution, your heart is filled with dread. You would be pleased if this contradiction had a real existence, because it would give you an opportunity of reëstablishing the Greek notion, or it would at least afford you a pretext to turn your back on "the immortal principles of '89" and expel the disciples of St. Dionysius from the Areopagus. This satisfaction cannot be accorded to you. We have not made the French Revolution any more than we have called in the Barbarians. Now that the revolution has been brought about in spite of us, and that we are eternal, we try to imitate the conduct of St. Remigius towards the haughty Sicambrians. "For so," says the Apostle St. Peter, "is the will of God, that by doing well you may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men, as free and not as making liberty a cloak for malice, but as the servants of God. Honor all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honor the king."

Historical Protestantism, the only one with which we are acquainted, has been incapable of maintaining civil liberty. Without the secular arm it cannot support itself as a general form of worship.

Anti-Catholic, or if you prefer it, acatholic civil liberty, such as people try to organize it in the present century, is powerless to arrest the fresh impulse of progress in the Universal Church.

What remains, then, of your accusations?

What remains is an involuntary defence of the Church and the disquieting presentiment of its future triumphs.

CONCLUSION.

The Next Great Age will be a Catholic One.

In the ancient missals of Paris we find at the *Introit* of the mass for the vigil of Christmas: "Yet a little while and I will shake the heavens, and the earth and the sea and the whole universe; and I will make all people tremble: and the desired of all nations shall come. Hear this, O all ye peoples! Be attentive, ye inhabitants of the earth!"

The Jewish doctors, the wise and the learned of the time of Herod knew this text; but they paid no attention to the great event of Bethlehem of Judea of which we celebrate the august anniversary on this Christmas Eve. The powerful of the empire with Cæsar at their head, had been warned by the Sybil, but in vain. A few herdsmen of Judea, then some fishermen of Galilee were more clear sighted. It was in presence of a few shepherds, attending at the Incarnation of the Light of the World, the greatest event in the history of humanity, that the angels chanted this canticle:

"Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace to men of good will."

Let us repeat it and recollect ourselves. Let us rejoice at having obtained the grace of perceiving the Christian light, but let us not be proud, since this light does not come from us, but from on high. Montesquieu, who, in his youth, did not perceive it, made, towards the end of his career, in the crowning

work of his science matured by time and condensed by reflection, this eloquent avowal: "It is a thing to be wondered at; the Christian religion, which appears to have no other object but the felicity of the other life, still constitutes our happiness in this. (*Esprit des Lois*, XXIV ; 3). These words are rigorously true. Lord Macaulay states somewhere, with somewhat of rancor that the Catholics who are now becoming Protestants are generally bad Protestants. In effect, those who have the faith remain Catholics, and when they have lost it they do not lose time in becoming Protestants. Catholic nations have received no promise of temporal riches or constant political success ; but they have no reason to envy in this respect the other peoples, ancient as well as modern. When they have sought the kingdom of God and His justice they have received in abundance, conformably with the inspired word, all that can be desired here below, before death, by prudent, wise and reasonable men. The Catholic Church has been not only the foster mother of civilization for nearly two thousand years, not only is she the sole depositary of the integral Christian truth, she is also the pure atmosphere in which human reason is preserved incorruptible. The sciences, letters and arts have been cultivated by Catholics at an epoch when no one else in the world cared about them, when these divine plants were even ignored by the rest of humanity. Even in a human point of view, the Catholic Church is the greatest and noblest institution which has made its appearance in the history of terrestrial things, and even to-day, humanly speaking, there

is none more solid than it. At all epochs it has shone in the world by faith and works, and its faithful have marched to the first ranks, not only in the divine, but even in the human sciences. Catholic nations know as well as you the importance of capital and the value of labor, but between these two factors of riches what an admirable intermediate they possess in the inexhaustible treasure of their Church; and if the economical development of modern times is capable of being retained within the bounds of justice, be sure that salvation can only be found in the maternal bosom of the Church.

The next great age will be a Catholic one. From St. Paul to St. Augustine, from St. Gregory Nazianzen to St. Thomas Aquinas, from Dante to Petrarch, from Roger Bacon and Shakespeare (who died a Catholic) to Corneille, from Descartes to Malebranche, from Bossuet to Chateaubriand, from Lamartine to the ardent and noble youth whom I see swarming in our schools, the Catholic nations, invariable in the unity of their faith, have marched with a firm step to the conquest of the secrets of nature and created beauty. Rival them if you can. Ascend with them up the ladder of human knowledge. Multiply the applications of steam and electricity, analyze heat, explain the laws of light, wrest from the sun the mystery of its composition Continue to ascend. Contemplate the unfathomable depths of created space, watch the apparition in the celestial sphere of bodies whose light has travelled towards us with a prodigious rapidity since the days of Abel's murder. And still higher. Resist, if you have

strength to do so, the formidable alliance which people call the harmony of the celestial bodies and which confounds the imagination. Make another effort. Mount to those indefinite, but created, heights which are called the region of the fixed stars, and which approach the infinite. And when you are fatigued by the study and enervated by the contemplation of these giddy heights, the Catholic will even then exclaim : My friend, higher yet, and still higher. *Excelsior.*

APPENDIX.

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NOTES FROM "THE DUBLIN REVIEW."

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[The publishers believe that readers of this translation of Baron de Haulleville's work will find it an advantage to have bound up with it the following contribution to the discussion from *The Dublin Review.*]

When Macaulay in his famous essay on the Popes confessed that Protestantism had not given "any proofs of that expansive power which had been attributed to it," that it had actually lost many of its first conquests in Europe, that for two hundred and fifty years, "as far as there had been a change, that change had upon the whole been in favor of the Church of Rome," he endeavored to offer some consolation to his Protestant readers by asserting that Protestantism had been practically proved to be more conducive to a nation's prosperity than Catholicism. "It cannot be doubted," he said, "that since the sixteenth century the Protestant nations have made decidedly greater progress than their neighbors. The progress made by those nations in which Protestantism, though not finally successful, yet maintained a long struggle, and left permanent traces, has generally been considerable. But, when we come to the Catholic Land, to the part of Europe in which the first spark of Reformation was trodden out as soon as it appeared, and from which proceeded the impulse that drove Protestantism back, we find at best a very slow progress, and on the whole a retrogression." And he added: "Our firm belief is that the

North owes its great civilization and prosperity chiefly to the moral effect of the Protestant Reformation, and that the decay of the Southern countries of Europe is to be mainly ascribed to the great Catholic revival."

Such as it is, this consolation is but a poor one. Want of expansive power and inability to make new conquests are not the marks of the true Church. *Veritas prævalebi* is an adage which has been thoroughly falsified by facts, if Protestantism has truth upon its side. But, says Lord Macaulay, the truth is prevailing in another fashion. The people of Protestant countries are rich, progressive, intelligent, and this mainly on account of the Reformation, while Catholicity has a contrary tendency, and leads to "at best very slow progress, and on the whole a retrogression." This idea has always been a favorite one with Protestant writers, and of late years it has been adopted by the Liberals and freethinkers of the continent as a thesis which they suppose they can maintain with good results to their cause. Here they say we have proof that Catholic nations can only be prosperous in spite of Catholicity, and if you are a good Catholic you are at the same time a bad patriot. In support of this thesis they compare Protestant and Catholic nations always to the disadvantage of the latter ; not that they have any particular affection for Protestantism, but they remember Edgar Quinet's advice, that in the war with Catholicity they should ally themselves with all that is not Catholic.

M. DE LAVELEYE'S POSITION.

M. Emile de Laveleye, professor of political economy in the Liberal University of Liége, and known to English readers by an occasional contribution to the *Fortnightly*, edits an ultra-Liberal periodical, the

Revue de Belgique. This review has made itself a power among the *gueux*, the "anti-Clerical" party in Belgium, by its persistent attacks upon the Catholic Church. Not long ago one of the youngest of its contributors, M. Perganani, ventured to assert that force was the source of right, and that as argument produced no effect upon the Catholics, and it was impossible to contend with them on equal terms, the Liberals of Belgium ought to make up their minds to begin a policy of repression and persecution. The teaching of the article was disavowed by the moderate Liberal press, and M. de Laveleye wrote to the *Journal de Gand* declaring that he did not share the views of his *collaborateur*, but that he had published the article, because it represented an important phase of the anti-clerical movement, a policy which had many supporters throughout Europe, and to which still more would rally, "according as the extravagant pretensions of the clergy called forth a more ardent opposition." This is enough to show the spirit of the man. He thoroughly hates the Catholic Church, and in one form or another his hatred for it finds frequent expression. Withal he affects to speak with scientific and judicial impartiality, and it was thus he assumed to treat his subject, when he wrote and published in his review an extremely prejudiced and one-sided article on Protestantism and Catholicism in their relation to popular liberty and national prosperity. It was immediately republished as a pamphlet at Paris, and translated into Dutch, German, and English by M. de Laveleye's admirers in Amsterdam, Berlin, and London, the English edition having for a preface a letter to the author written by Mr. Gladstone, from which it appears that the pamphlet had been translated into English at the special desire of the member for Greenwich, although he does not in all points con-

cur with the views expressed in it. The original article called forth an able reply from a Belgian Catholic journalist, the Baron de Haulleville, a reply the best eulogy of which is expressed in the opinion of Cardinal Deschamps, that "it deserves to be read even after the great works of Balmez" on the same subject. M. de Laveleye's theory has its supporters in England, and is to be met with from time to time in the press, on the platform, and even in conversation. We may therefore profitably consider what answer can be made to it from the Catholic point of view. In framing this reply, we shall develop in its main outlines M. de Haulleville's argument, adding, however, a few facts and considerations from other sources, and occasionally availing ourselves of more recent statistics than those which appear in his pamphlet.

HIS SEVEN PROPOSITIONS.

M. de Laveleye's theory is briefly that which was lately set forth by an Italian journalist in the laconic phrase, "The peoples of the Papal religion are either dead or dying."* This Belgian Liberal holds that the future of Europe will be in the hands of Protestant Germans and schismatic Slavs. The Latin race is doomed, and this because it is Catholic. This is the summary of his teaching; let us endeavor to find out upon what grounds he would have us accept it.

First, he tells us that "when in one and the same country and one and the same group, identical in language, and identical in origin, it can be affirmed that Protestants advance more rapidly and steadily than Catholics, it is difficult not to attribute the superiority of the one over the other to the religions they profess"

* "I popili di religione papale o sono gia morti o vanno morire."—*Il Diritto*, the organ of the Depretis Melegari cabinet.

(p. 11). He cites Ireland and Scotland as cases in point. We shall examine the truth of his conclusions presently. Meanwhile we proceed to select further propositions from his pamphlet.

Secondly, he tells us that "wherever the two religions exist together in the same country, the Protestants are more active, more industrious, more economical, and consequently richer than the Catholics" (p. 14.)

Thirdly, that "throughout Germany at the present day the trade in intellectual works—such as books, reviews, maps, newspapers—is almost entirely in the hands of Jews and Protestants, to the exclusion of the Catholics" (p. 16).

Fourthly, that "the nations subject to Rome seem stricken with barrenness; they no longer colonize, they have no power of expansion . . . . . Their past is brilliant, but their present is gloomy, and their future disquieting" (p. 18).

Fifthly, that "the Catholic countries on both sides of the Atlantic are a prey to internal struggles which consume their strength, or at least prevent them from advancing as steadily and rapidly as Protestant nations" (p. 21).

Sixthly, he attributes to defective popular education a portion of this inferiority.

Lastly, he makes a statement the boldness of which, we venture to say, exceeds that of anything else in his pamphlet, a work which certainly does not err in the matter of over-caution. "It is agreed on all sides," he says, "that the power of nations depends on their morality . . . . . Now, it appears to be an established fact that the moral level is higher among the Protestants than among Catholic populations" (p. 25).

These seven propositions, we believe, fairly represent M. de Laveleye's position on the question. We

shall now proceed to examine them by the light of facts and figures. But before doing so we must make a few observations on the subject as a whole. In the first place, then, we might refuse at the outset to accept the issue which M. de Laveleye has raised, for it is in the main a radically false one. He deals, for the most part, with the comparative prosperity of Catholics and Protestants in mere material things, in wealth, comfort, "progress." He gives his verdict against Catholicity on all these points, and expresses a regret that his own country, and all the other Latin people, did not become Protestants long ago, when the chance was offered them, and so take their due share in the good things of this world. Now, Catholicity never yet claimed to be a wealth-producing agency; it is a religion which counts voluntary poverty among its counsels, doubtless, a very absurd and mischievous proceeding in the eyes of our Belgian professor of political economy. But there stands the fact; the Church does not profess to make of Catholic nations conquering peoples, wealthy peoples, colonizing peoples, or even educated peoples in the ordinary sense of the word. She does, indeed, tell them to be conquerors, but they are to conquer themselves under her guidance; they are to be rich, but their commerce is to be of that kind which lays up treasures not on earth, but in Heaven; the only enterprises of colonization which the Church demands from them will be the sending forth of missionaries to win new lands to the empire of the Cross; and the highest learning, the best education, and the only one which she regards as *necessary*, will be the knowledge of the way of eternal life. In a word, the Church looks to the after-life for the final result of her labors here. M. de Laveleye would have us sum up the account here, and see which way the balance lies. We tell him plainly he must wait for the

hereafter if he is to give any really sound judgment upon the results of Catholicism. A "religion of prosperity" is, of course, quite conceivable. Its precepts would be of a very different character from those of the Church. If any nation could possibly adopt it and follow it, it would perhaps make it more prosperous, in a worldly sense, than any Catholic nation has ever been; but he would be a poor reasoner who would condemn Catholicity for failing in a comparison with the worship of the gods of wealth and ease made by one of the worshippers.

RELIGION AND PROSPERITY.

We do not, for a moment, mean to deny that indirectly the religion of a people *may* affect its material prosperity. A religious people who, as a body, are chaste, sober, honest, orderly, and to a greater or less extent industrious, will *probably*, in the long run, find themselves in a better position than an irreligious people, placed in fairly similar circumstances. But unless the conditions are precisely similar in every respect we cannot say more than this, we cannot say *certainly*, instead of probably. And the conditions are never more than approximately alike, and the approximation is generally a very rough one. Hence the difficulty of finding a practical test for our theory. We have said, too, that they will probably find themselves "in a better position" materially; we cannot say more than this; we cannot be more definite; we cannot say they will be a wealthy people, a race of conquerors, merchants, or colonists; we only know that they will, if the conditions are alike, be healthier, less liable to sudden vicissitudes of fortune, less troubled by vice and pauperism, the two scourges of modern communities.

If, therefore, we add to the material factors of pros-

perity those belonging to the moral order, we should expect to see a higher standard reached by Catholic than the non-Catholic nations. The fault, the radical error of M. de Laveleye's estimate of the relative position of Catholic and non-Catholic lands is, that too often he judges by a purely material criterion. That a nation is successful in war or in commerce by no means proves the superiority of the religion it professes. In commerce the scattered nation of the Jews have certainly surpassed the Christians, but no Jew would ever think of alleging this as an argument against the Gentiles. The nation which has made the most rapid, the most astounding "progress" in our own days, if we use the word progress as M. de Laveleye would use it, is Japan; yet this hardly tends to prove even the material advantages of the modified form of Buddhism which is professed at Yeddo and Yokohama. Nor would any sensible man urge the rapid conquest of the Mahometans, their progress, science and learning, and the culture of the old courts of Bagdad and Granada, as proofs of the superiority of Islamism over the religion of Europe in the ninth century. The argument derived from purely material prosperity is an essentially fallacious one in the mouth of all except materialists. They may consistently urge it, and make the most of it. But we believe M. de Laveleye professes to be a Christian, as certainly does Mr. Gladstone, who has introduced the work to the English public. We are, therefore, not a little surprised at the method of proof which it attempts, the theory it brings forward. If M. de Laveleye would throughout argue that Protestantism makes men better and holier than Catholicity, he would be consistent; but he insists far more strongly that it makes them wealthier, freer, and more powerful, or at least, that, whatever may be the reason, Protestants

enjoy all these advantages in a higher degree than Catholics, and that it is hard to resist the conclusion that the reason of it lies in their Protestantism. But wealth, political freedom, and military power are hardly religious questions, and we repeat, M. de Laveleye cannot, from his point of view, make a fair comparison.

He is closing the account and striking the balance before the proper time. Truly national prosperity consists in a nation's living so that it may have many representatives in heaven hereafter, and no one can prove to us that Catholicity is not better calculated than Protestantism to produce this result.

THE GERMAN CATHOLICS.

There is, however, another difficulty in making a fair comparision. We may speak of a country as being Catholic which contains a large non-Catholic, or even anti-Catholic, element ; and how are we to know to what extent this factor in the problem tends to lower the standard of prosperity on the one hand, or morality on the other ? M. de Laveleye cites France and Italy as Catholic countries, and he is right ; but only with an important reservation. No one will deny that in France there is an anti-Catholic party, the literature of which is to a great extent irreligious and immoral ; yet the misdeeds of this party, which every Catholic reprobates, are coolly urged by M. de Laveleye to turn the scale against Catholic France in a comparison with Germany or England. Again, in the case of a Protestant nation there is often an important Catholic section of the population left wholly out of account ; this is especially the case with regard to Germany. In South Germany there are five millions of Catholics out of a total population of eight millions. Bavaria and Baden are in fact Catholic countries. Yet M. de

Laveleye takes no account whatever of the German Catholics, except to depreciate them. He refers incidentally to the German conquest of France as a proof of Protestant superiority; perhaps he has forgotten the story of the war. Prince Bismarck's and Von Moltke's victories were more than once bought with Catholic blood. At Woerth, at Sedan, and on the battle-fields of the Loire, the valour of Bavarian Catholics went far to turn the tide of success against France. M. de Laveleye's argument is really a very loosely-constructed one, and prejudice plays a large part in it, making him forget at the same time that Germany owes much to her Catholic subjects, and that in much that he lays to the charge of France, Catholic France has had no part. He makes a pretence of impartiality—a pretence which has deceived many of his readers, as, perhaps, it deceived himself. "Sectarian passions," he says, "or anti-religious prejudice, have been too often imported into the study of these questions. It is time that we should apply to it the method of observation, and the scientific impartiality of the physiologist and the naturalist. When the facts are once established, irrefragable conclusions will follow." He does not, however, fulfil his promise; he treats his subject in a most unscientific, a most illogical manner, and therefore arrives at conclusions which are simply worthless. This is evident from the outset.

In proof of his first point, that "in one and the same country, and in one and the same group, identical in language and identical in origin, Protestants advance more rapidly and steadily than Catholics," he compares the Scotch and the Irish. Early in the Middle ages, he tells us, Ireland was "a focus of civilization, while Scotland was a den of barbarians"; but, he says, since the Reformation Scotland has surpassed

even England itself, and while Ireland is poor and miserable, Scotland is peaceful and prosperous ; and, more than this, in the very same country, Protestant Ulster is wealthy, while Catholic Connaught is wretchedly poor. The comparison is not a new one, it has been often made ; but it is a most unfair one.

THE SCOTCH AND IRISH.

In the first place, the Scotch are not "of the same language and of the same origin " as the Irish. This is true only of a small portion of the Scottish race,*—the Highlanders and the Islesmen ; and we doubt if the Highlands can be called "prosperous," for their "progress " has consisted chiefly in the substitution of sheep and black cattle, grouse and deer, for men. Again, the races differ equally in Ulster and Connaught. In Connaught we have descendants of an early Celtic race, in Ulster a colony of English and Lowland Scotch. But the question of race is a minor one, and we allude to it here in order to show how hollow is M. de Laveleye's parade of scientific method. The comparison he has made errs in matters of far greater moment. The causes of the prosperity of Scotland, and the want of prosperity in Ireland, are to be sought in the history of the two countries. Scotland has been eminently fortunate. She was united with England on equal terms ; she preserved her own laws, her own courts, her own local institutions. Her manufacturers competed on equal terms with the English trader; the capital of the richer country was

*Sutherlandshire may be cited as an example of rapid progress ; but the Duke of Sutherland is descended from a wealthy English family, whose capital has been employed in reclaiming the waste lands of this northern shire, with the help of steam and machinery. The progress of Scotland in this instance is really the result of English enterprise.

placed freely at her disposal; under her own free laws her educational system was steadily developed; finally, there were no wholesale confiscations of land; there was no alien colony, no laws passed in the interest of a minority; no State Church established in the interest of the few. On the other hand, all the miseries that Scotland escaped were inflicted on Ireland; of all the advantages that Scotland possessed, Ireland was deliberately and systematically deprived. The English rule was firmly established in Ireland by the wars of the Tudors, and from the outset she was governed in the interest of the English colony. Repeated confiscations ruined the native proprietors, and placed the land of the country in the hands of men who were really foreigners, who spoke not a word of the Irish language, who professed a strange religion, who, in a word, were an armed garrison holding Ireland in their own interest. The faith of the Irish was proscribed, and those who held that faith were systematically plundered and persecuted. More than once they took up arms against the intolerable tyranny, only to be defeated and placed more completely in the power of their Protestant rulers. Their schools were destroyed, the laws were directed as much against the Catholic schoolmaster as the Catholic priest. Their trade was destroyed by law for the protection of English commerce and English manufactures.* An Irishman and a Catholic could not have his children educated in his own country; could only practise his religion by stealth; could not aspire to any civil or military dignity; could not even have

*The wool trade is a case in point. Even such a work as Mr. Froude's "English in Ireland" gives evidence enough incidentally to convince any one that the worst forms of protection were used to destroy Irish, to the advantage of English trade.

a horse worth more than five pounds in his possession. It is only in our own day that this iniquitous system has been entirely broken up.* The downfall of the Irish Church Establishment is an event not ten years old. Catholic emancipation is a work of less than fifty years ago. If then Ireland, as compared with Scotland, is so "poor and wretched," the fault must be laid at the doors of Protestant tyranny and intolerance. It is not the fault of Catholicism, unless perhaps in one sense. Had the people abandoned their religion, they might have freed themselves from all disabilities; but they preferred their faith to earthly goods and earthly prosperity, and they chose to suffer as Catholic, rather than share the good things of this world with their all-powerful Protestant rulers. This, too, explains the difference between Ulster and Connaught; but in that case we must also remember that Connaught is naturally a wilderness of bog and mountain, when compared to Ulster. Place the most industrious race on earth in Connaught and a far inferior people in Ulster, and the Ulster men would in the course of a few years be wealthier and more prosperous in every respect. The comparison between Ulster and Connaught is most misleading, so far as the question of wealth is concerned. We shall, however, have to compare them in another and more important respect later on, and we shall find that then the ad-

* "The Irish Catholics," says Bishop Spalding, "are taunted with their misery when, for two centuries they lived under a code which placed them outside the pale of humanity, of which Lord Brougham said that it was so ingeniously contrived that an Irish Catholic could not lift up his hand without breaking it, and which Edmund Burke denounced as the most proper machine ever invented by the wit of man to disgrace a realm and degrade a people."—*Essays*, Reply to M. de Laveleye, p. 100

vantage is with poor Catholic Connaught. A few years ago M. Roussel, a French Protestant *pasteur*, travelled in Ireland and published a pamphlet in which he adopted the same fallacious line of argument as that of M. de Laveleye. The work is severely criticised by a clever writer, who is neither a Catholic nor a friend to Catholicism, M. John Lemoinne, of the "Debats." We must quote at second-hand from M. de Haulleville some of his remarks :

"When M. Roussel travelled in Ireland," asks M. John Lemoinne, "did he never feel any remorse of conscience? Did he never ask himself whether the Protestants had not something to do with the misery of this Catholic land? If the Protestants only form one tenth part of the population of Ireland, by what right have they laid violent hands on all the property and revenues of the Catholic Church? And when M. Roussel, in order to prove that the Catholics are no longer oppressed in Ireland, tells us that they have four archbishops, twenty-three bishops, 2,500 churches, and more than 2,000 priests, how is it that he expresses no admiration for this race of poor men, who, despite their misery, find the means to support their Church, while the Protestant bishops, and the Protestant ministers, in virtue of an act of confiscation, live on the fat of the land? How is it that a minister of the Gospel does not recall these simple words:—'Amen I say to you, this poor widow hath cast in more than all they who have cast into the treasury. For all they did cast in of their abundance; but she of her want cast in all she had, even her whole living?'"

Unfortunately, M. de Laveleye writes in the spirit of M. Roussel rather than that of M. John Lemoinne. He forgets that the Irish have had to struggle for bare existence. If he is not ignorant of their history, he has wilfully disregarded it. We believe the next fifty

years will clearly show that Catholic Ireland is able to hold its own, even in the field of purely material prosperity. Irishmen in other lands have shown that they are wanting neither in industry nor in enterprise. The late Mr. Maguire's well-known work on the Irish race in America certainly tends to show that their Catholicity is no barrier to the success of Irishmen, if they only are allowed a fair field for their exertions.

But M. de Laveleye does not rely only upon this comparison of Ireland and Scotland. He has other evidence. He quotes from Mr. Hepworth Dixon's book on Switzerland to show that in one and the same canton the Catholics and the Protestants present a contrast to the advantage of the latter. The canton of Appenzell is divided into the two districts of Inner Rhoden, inhabited by 11,900 Catholics, and Ausser Rhoden, which has a population of 46,726 Protestants. Mr. Hepworth Dixon describes the Protestants as industrious and rich ; the Catholics as lazy, poor, ignorant, living in scattered huts, and meeting only at mass or at their popular sports. He adds, with a sneer, that instead of books and newspapers they read the lives of the saints. For our part we are very glad to hear it, much more pleased indeed than if we were told that the good people of Inner Rhoden read the works of Mr. Hepworth Dixon, or even those of M. de Laveleye. Here, however, the comparison is again a misleading one. From information obtained on the spot, M. de Haulleville tells us that the towns and villages of Ausser Rhoden stand in a fertile low-lying district, and that, in point of wealth, their Protestant inhabitants are naturally in a better position than the Catholics of the mountain district of Inner Rhoden, who are a scattered race of shepherds. The charge of ignorance is an idle one. Mr. Dixon himself admits that every one of these Catholic mountaineers can read and

write, and the charge really is based upon their strange habit of persisting in reading the lives of the saints in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

But this is not all, M. de Laveleye has yet another argument. He speaks of Nimes as a kind of Protestant oasis of prosperity in the South of France, and he quotes a certain M. Audiganne to show that while the capitalists of Nimes are Protestants, the workmen are Catholics. To our minds, this is as good an argument for us as for him. Whence came the wealth of these Protestants in the first instance we cannot say; but this is certain, for its preservation and its increase they have, as he himself tells us, to depend upon the industry, the steadiness, and the skill of Catholics. Of the two factors of the prosperity of Nimes, one is Protestant, the other Catholic. How this in any way supports M. de Laveleye's theory we fail to see.

While dealing with France, he refers, of course, to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes as having deprived France of a host of skilled workmen, and established abroad injurious centres of competition against her manufactures. There is a regular tradition about this event; but two facts are nearly always overlooked in discussing it. First, the exiles did not introduce the silk manufacture into London: there is documentary evidence that there were silk-weavers, and French silk-weavers too, in Spitalfields, years before the edict was revoked. The same is true of the silk manufacture of the Low Countries. Again, hundreds, perhaps thousands of the exiles and emigrants were not industrious workmen at all, or, if they were, they did no work after they left France. There were amongst them a considerable number of officers and soldiers; and in the armies of Prussia and of the House of Orange whole companies and regiments of French Huguenots fought against France, under Huguenot

officers. We shall not discuss the wisdom or the folly of the revocation. One thing is certain, it has but little bearing on an economic question like the one before us, for the manufactures and the trade of France suffered no great loss in consequence of it. We return to M. de Laveleye's contention, that Catholics are at the present day, on the whole, less prosperous than Protestants.

It is a fact that in Canada and the United States the Catholics are as active, as industrious, and as successful as their Protestant fellow citizens, though our author seems to doubt it. Of the prosperity of the Catholics in the United States we have practical proofs in the institutions and the churches they have founded and endowed ; in their press and their literature, and in their munificent offerings to the Holy See. In Lower Canada, three-fourths of the landed property is in Catholic hands ; in Upper Canada there are thousands of successful emigrants from Catholic Ireland. The fact is, that M. de Laveleye's second point, the assertion that when the two religions exist in one country the Protestants are more prosperous than the Catholics, cannot be proved to be true as a general rule, and there are many facts which directly contradict it. In Prussia the Catholic provinces are the richest portions of the State. Westphalia, Silesia, and the Rhine Province enjoy a considerable amount of prosperity, while the Protestant provinces of Pomerania, Prussia, and Brandenburg are the poorest, and furnish the largest contingent to the tide of emigration. If M. de Haulleville is correctly informed, the Catholic people of the district of Ermland are in a better position in the matter of wealth and comfort than those of all the rest of their province, which is the Lutheran province of Prussia proper. There are poor Catholic districts indeed in Silesia and Pomerania ;

but we have not far to seek for the causes of their poverty,—a bad administration, and the suppression of the monasteries and the secularization of their property, during the present century, is, perhaps, sufficent to explain it. But even if it does not, the exception proves nothing. We have only to show that M. de Laveleye's premises are false, or his reasoning fallacious, in order to destroy his argument. But we believe we have succeeded in doing not one but both of these things, and his theory therefore falls to the ground. Let us proceed, however, to examine the other points which we have enumerated.

The assertion that in Germany the press and the book-trade are entirely in non-Catholic hands is in form a matter of detail; but it is really put forward to make the reader infer that the intellectual position of the Catholics of Germany is a low one. Like many other of M. de Laveleye's assertions, it is wholly incorrect. It is based upon a false view of the state of affairs. The book-trade of Germany is, in the main, concentrated at Leipzig. Even Berlin, M. de Haulleville tells us, has contended in vain against the virtual monopoly created by the "Leipzig book-fair." Now, if M. de Laveleye looks only to Leipzig, he is right in asserting that the trade is in the hands of Jews and Protestants, for Catholic books are banished from it; but Catholic publishing houses have sprung up in other parts of Germany. The Catholic literature of the country is both valuable, from the learning of its authors, and most extensive in its range of subjects. Of this M. de Laveleye must be as well aware as we are. The catalogues of any great library would tell him as much. The "Katholik" of Mayence holds a high rank amongst the periodicals of Germany; and in the press we may notice two ably-written, well-informed, and thoroughly independent papers, the

"Koelnische Volkszeitung"* of Cologne and the well-known "Germania" of Berlin. In all, there are no less than 300 Catholic newspapers in Germany, and this large press maintains its position notwithstanding continual persecution under the press laws† on the one hand, and, on the other, the competition of the Liberal press, assisted as it is by Government information and subventions from the "reptile fund." The Catholics of Germany need fear no comparison with the Protestants in the field of literature and intellectual power.

Name me, if you can (says M. de Haulleville), a great German writer since the death of Goerres, Schlegel, Eichendorf, and the Austrian Grillparzer,‡ who were all Catholics, and of Heinrich Heine, who was a Jew. Who are the orators of the Berlin Parliament? Herr Lasker, a Jew, and Prince Bismarck, a sceptic, who blurts out his words and talks as if he were firing revolver shots. As for the Catholic Centre, it contains a whole group of orators and debaters,—Herr Windthorst, "the pearl of Meppen"; Peter and Augustus Reichensperger; the Baron von Schorlemer-Alost, the "captain" of the Westphalian peasantry; Canon Moufang; and Dr. Joerg.

The very existence of this party of the Centre, organized by Mallinckrodt and Windthorst since 1870, is a proof of the intellectual vigor of the German Catholics. But the charge of tending to thwart and stifle the intellectual development of her children is a strange one to bring against the Catholic Church. On

* A paper more than once confounded with the well-known Liberal "Koelnische Zeitung," to the mystification of the readers of the Reuter's and Havas telegrams.

† The "Germania" has had the honor of having five of its staff imprisoned under the press laws in the course of three years (1873-1875).

‡ We would add to this brief list the Jesuit Joseph Kleutgen, the exponent and defender of the scholastic philosophy, who is also dead within the last three years.

this point M. de Laveleye's prejudices have quite mastered his reason. All pretence of "scientific method" disappears. He begs the whole question without taking the least trouble to conceal the fallacy.

> The apathy (he says) with which two new dogmas have recently been received, which formerly would have roused the strongest opposition and have led to a schism, is a sign of the incredible enfeeblement of all intellectual life in the bosom of the Church (p. 52).

This is really too good. We have here, in the first place, a *naive* confession of the utter failure of the much vaunted *Alt-Katholik* movement. For "apathy" a Catholic will read "unity." M. de Laveleye must know perfectly well that the man who refuses a duly-defined dogma of the Faith ceases to be a Catholic. His statement of the case, therefore, resolves itself into an assertion, that because Catholics act as Catholics, and remain Catholics, they must be men of feeble intellect. This, however, requires to be proved. M. de Laveleye assumes it. He knows he is not writing for very critical readers. That is the secret of his bold assertions.

The fourth proposition that we have extracted from M. de Laveleye's pamphlet is to the effect that—

> The nations subject to Rome seem stricken with barrenness; they no longer colonize, they have no power of expansion. . . . Their past is brilliant, but their present is gloomy and their future disquieting.

It is not difficult to answer this. England, a Protestant power, is certainly the great colonizer of our day. But she does not stand alone. France has an eminently successful colony in Algeria, another in Cochin China. The conquest and colonization of Algiers was conceived by French statesmen during the reign of Charles X.; it was under the white flag that the French army and navy attacked and conquered

Algiers, and destroyed the last home of piracy in the Mediterranean. But more than this, even the colonial empire of England owes much to Catholic enterprise. In the present day how many of her colonists in Canada, at the Cape, in Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, are Catholic Irishmen; and in the past many of her most successful colonies were founded by Catholic France, and fell into the hands of England only by the chance of war. This is notably the case with regard to Canada. That splendid colony was won for England by the valor of Wolfe after it had been founded by the enterprise and piety of Champlain. Canada is to this day a Catholic country. All its traditions are Catholic. Its founders avowedly wished to create a Catholic State, a centre from which the light of the Gospel might be carried into the woods of the Great West. The story of the deeds of Champlain and his companions is only too little known in England. It is a bright page in the story of Catholic colonization. Many of the most famous cities of Canada were once humble mission stations. In the autumn of 1641 a priest and a few nuns, with some workmen—in all thirty persons—landed on an island in the St. Lawrence, and erected a few huts and tents, a church built of wood felled on the spot, a little hospital, and a school for the Indian children. This was the mission station of the Hochelaga; it is now the city of Montreal.* This Catholic colony is now a flourishing por-

* We cannot mention Canada without alluding to an enterprise of Catholic colonization belonging to the last few years. In 1871 a party of Catholic Zouaves, who had just retired from Rome, obtained some lands in the heart of the forests of Canada, cleared the ground, built a village, which is now rapidly becoming a town, and brought the adjacent land under cultivation. The little Catholic colony, now less than six years old, has prospered beyond all expectation. It bears the name of Piopolis, in honor of Pius IX.

tion of the colonial empire of England ; but it is only fair to remember what was its origin. The Catholic missionaries have been in the past the pioneers of Catholic colonization in other places besides Canada. The first white man who ever looked upon the waters of the Mississippi was a French Jesuit, the Père Marquette. A few years after, France founded the colony of Louisiana, which was transferred by treaty to the American Union in the first years of this century. The colonies of Spain in the Philippines belong to the same class. Here, too, the missionary came with the trader. Sir John Bowring has spoken of the Jesuits of the Philippines as the pioneers and the founders of civilization in the great Eastern archipelago. India is the chief gem of the Imperial crown of England, but there were days when only the chance of war decided who should hold it, Protestant England or Catholic France. Dupleix was the first European, who, in modern times, conceived the bold plan of founding an Indian Empire, and he only failed in winning it for France because he was opposed by the military skill and the wondrous good fortune of Clive.*

The charge of barrenness in the matter of colonies, therefore, counts for nothing. The colonial empire of England owes much to Catholics, and France is at once a Catholic nation and a colonizing power.† But M. de Laveleye adds, that though the past of the

*The capture of Arcot was the real beginning of England's career of conquest in India. Clive owed his success entirely to the chance that he was able to attack in the midst of a thunder-storm, when the superstition of the Hindus deprived them of all power of resistance.

† We must reply in a note to a note of M. de Laveleye's. The only fact he gives in support of his statement that Catholic nations no longer colonize, is contained in a note, which states that in 1867 the Comte de Beauvoir, on visiting the island of Sha Myen in the Canton river, ceded in 1861 to France and England, found in the English half of the island a village built in six years, a Protestant church,

Catholic nations is brilliant, their present is gloomy, their future disquieting. On this point he expresses an opinion, rather than states any demonstrable fact. We differ from him in opinion, but the matter is so much one of feeling, of political insight and forecast, that we freely grant that it would be as difficult for us to demonstrate the truth of our judgment as it would be for him to prove its contrary. We may, however, bring forward certain considerations in support of it. At present Germany is the strongest power in Europe; England, probably, stands next. Both of these are Protestant nations, though much of their power they owe to Catholics. When Prussia began her career of victory in 1864, more than a third of her people were Catholics. At this moment one-third of the subjects of the German Empire are "subjects to Rome," to use our author's favorite phrase. As for England, the Duke of Wellington declared in the House of Lords, that one-half of the men whom he led to victory in the Peninsula were Catholics; and we have it on the authority of Sir Henry Havelock that the pith, the central strength of the army that saved our Indian Empire in 1857 was composed of Catholic Irishmen, who, a few years before, had enlisted during the time of terrible suffering that followed the great famine. At present Austria and France, the two great Catholic nations, are suffering from the effects of defeat; but who knows how the scale will turn in an-

hands me houses, a cricket-ground, and a race-course; while the French half contained only uncultivated trees, rubbish, moles, and stray dogs and cats (which last, we presume, came from the English village). This, he supposes, proves a "want of expansive power" in the Catholic nation. It only proves that the French merchants in China, actuated by commercial ideas only, have, wisely or unwisely, as the case may be, neglected to colonize Sha Myen. If M. de Lavcleye should ever visit China, he will find a flourishing colony at Saigon, and French merchants and consuls in all the great ports.

other ten years? And, after all, Catholicism or Protestantism has but little to do with military success. Irish, French, and Austrian soldiers—yes, and Spaniards too—have proved again and again that in any good cause the Catholic fears not to peril life and limb. The glorious records of Castelfidardo, Monte Libretti, and Mentana, more than prove this, if, indeed, any proof were needed. Catholicity has never made men cowards; it has often made them heroes. Had the Republicans of Paris fought but half as well as the "mercenaries" of Pius IX. did upon the field of Loigny, the Prussian dragoons would never have marched through the Arc de Triomphe.

We believe in the future of the Catholic nations. At this very moment Austria is rapidly becoming again an important factor in the politics of Central Europe. If Austria and France, with their governments, were thoroughly Catholic, we should have but little fear for them. The non-Catholic element in France is the greatest obstacle to her prosperity. We believe, too, in the future of Spain. She is recovering from the loss of her colonial empire; she enjoys peace; statistics prove that her wealth and her population are increasing; her resources are being rapidly developed; she is still a naval power of some weight, and she possesses a splendid army. If her statesmen would but abandon Cuba to its fate, she would be relieved at once of a fearful tax of blood and treasure. Our forecast may not be a correct one, but numbers of unprejudiced men share our opinion. Only the experience of the next few years can verify or discredit it. But, however this may be, the future of the Protestant empire of Germany and the future of M. de Laveleye's other favorite, the empire of the Czar, are not wholly unclouded. Socialism in Germany, Nihilism in Russia, are sources of danger that are not to be contemned.

The throne of the Emperor William is not, after all, as secure as that of his Imperial brother of Catholic Austria; and if any one thing is being clearly brought to light in the field of European politics, it is the fact that the "great Slav power" ruled by the Czar is rotten to the core.

But M. de Laveleye points to another aspect of the politics of the Catholic nations. "The Catholic countries," he says, "on both sides of the Atlantic are a prey to internal struggles." Very true, at least in many cases; but why should Catholicity bear the blame of this? On M. de Laveleye's friends, the Liberals, must, we fear, be laid by far the greater part of the blame due to the fomenters of the troubles, the "internal struggles," the revolutions of France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Mexico, and many of the South American States. The history of the last ninety years proves this. But is it Catholic nations only on both sides of the Atlantic that have been torn by internal struggles of late years? The United States have been spoken of as held by a Protestant nation. What of the great conflict that raged for four years from the Gulf of Mexico to the valley of the Ohio? And in Europe, was there not bloodshed in the streets of Berlin in 1848? Did not German armies meet in civil conflict as lately as 1866? The armies that marched side by side into France in 1870 had fired upon each other only four years before. M. de Laveleye has a wondrous faculty of forgetting. He forgets what Liberalism has done to trouble the peace of Catholic nations; he forgets that Protestant nations have had their periods of difficulty and trial. By taking such an imperfect view of the position of affairs, it is easy to "prove" anything.

Throughout M. de Laveleye refers again and again to England as a pattern of a free and peaceful nation.

He attributes this to English institutions, and to Protestantism the credit of their success. Here again he has forgotten the teachings of history. The foundation of the institutions of England was laid in Catholic times and by Catholic hands. No nation in Europe has in its constitution and laws preserved so much that belongs to its old Catholic legislation. Elsewhere the continuity has been broken by the absolutism of the post-Reformation period, when the popular liberties of the Middle Ages were, in most countries, destroyed, far more than by the revolutions of the last years of the eighteenth century. This is a wide subject, and we cannot enter upon it here. The single fact that the Church is the guardian of a higher law than that of the State makes her the best guardian of civil liberty. The mediæval institutions of Italy, Spain, France, and England itself, practically prove this. But it is only in England that they have been preserved and developed to our day. How this has been effected is a question for history. But one fact meets us on the very threshold of the inquiry. Protestantism in England was the work of Tudor despotism, which paved the way for the policy of the Stuarts, and by an unbroken chain of events, led up to the civil war and the English revolution.

M. de Laveleye, having endeavored to show that Catholicity is less favorable to national development than Protestantism, proceeds to indicate what he supposes are the causes of this inferiority which he has alleged, but certainly has not proved. He tells us that in a Catholic country the priests form a separate caste, whose interests are not those of a nation at large, while in a Protestant country the minister is none the less a citizen because he is a pastor. We can only speak of this as a calumny against the Catholic clergy. It is a favorite fiction of European Liberalism, but im-

poses upon no one. Patriotism, in its best and highest sense is a duty imposed upon every Catholic. Love of country, loyalty, respect for the law—these are things which the Catholic priesthood has ever set before the people as essential characteristics of the citizens of a civilized country. In Elizabeth's days priests were indeed tortured and executed on false charges of treason. History has reversed the judgment of hostile courts, and it is now clear as noonday that the men who suffered and died at Tyburne for their faith were as loyal Englishmen as they were good Catholics.

M. de Laveleye, however, indicates two other sources of inferiority,—a lower standard of popular education, and a lower standard of morality prevailing among Catholic than among Protestant peoples. Here again, we have in both instances assertion without proof. He says, indeed, that Catholics regard reading as the shortest road to heresy; that the Church has neglected education; that the educational system of Catholic countries is defective, compared to that of Protestant nations; that "it was the schoolmaster that conquered at Sedan."* Catholics need never fear any candid inquiry into the Church's influence on education. There

* Whether reading, writing and arithmetic make men fight better is very doubtful. Prussia had a system of compulsory education before 1789, yet the "schoolmaster" did not conquer at Jena, This appeal to "the ordeal of combat" is a favorite one with M de Laveleye, but it proves nothing. We take from M. de Haulleville the following remarks as one of his minor charges against France. "M. de Laveleye asserts," he says, "that during the war of 1870 the French wounded (Catholics) asked for playing-cards, while the Prussian convalescents only asked for books. I heard no one ask for cards in the ambulances during that war, but I know that many of the German wounded, Bavarians, Rhinelanders, Westphalians, and Poles (Catholics), who had been shot down for the German cause, which is represented nowadays as the cause of Protestantism, protested against the Protestant books which were given to them. The service of the hospital had provided for everything except this."—p. 232.

were schools in Europe before Martin Luther's days. He certainly did not learn his letters from a Protestant schoolmaster. Nine-tenths of the universities of Europe trace back their origin to Catholic times. There was hardly an abbey in the Middle Ages that had not its school. The author of "Christian Schools and Christian Scholars" has shown clearly that the primary school is not an invention of the nineteenth century.* At the present day the Catholic Belgian province of Luxembourg has a more perfect organization for popular education than any country in Europe, and that, too, without compulsion. Only one per cent. of the people are uneducated. In Germany the Catholic provinces are fully equal to the Protestant districts in this respect. In France primary education is highly developed, especially in the towns. Its success is largely due to the Catholic teaching orders of men and women. M. Maxime du Camp, a Liberal, like M. de Laveleye, gives the first rank among the primary schools of Paris to those of the Sisters of Charity. Rome, the very centre of clericalism, Papal Rome, with a population of 158,000, had, according to Mr. Laing,† in the year 1843, 372 primary schools, attended by 14,099 children, and conducted by 452 teachers. Berlin, in the same year, with double the population, had only 264 schools. The Papal States had seven universities, with a population of only two and a half millions, while the twenty-six million Protestants of Germany, at the present day, have exactly the same

* Bishop Spalding, in his second article on M. de Laveleye's pamphlet, treats briefly, but with sufficient fulness, the history of Catholic popular education from the ninth century. He also states that at present the educational statistics of Europe show that the school attendance compared with the population is in Bavaria as 1 to 7, Austria 1 to 10.5, Ireland 1 to 16, Catholic Switzerland 1 to 16, and in England as 1 to 17.

† "Notes of a Traveler," London: 1842-48.

number of universities—seven. So much for the charge that the Catholic Church is opposed to, or careless of, the education of her children. More than half the nuns, whom M. de Laveleye's Liberal friends would expel from Belgium if they could, give their whole lives without fee or reward to the teaching of the children of the poor.

But, as M. de Haulleville justly remarks, M. de Laveleye "surpasses himself" in his last proposition. "It is agreed," he says, "that the power of nations depends on their morality. Now, it appears that the moral level is higher among Protestants than among Catholics." The arguments brought forward in support of this daring assertion are the weakest in the book. M. de Laveleye points triumphantly to the immoral literature of France and the French drama. If this literature were the work of Catholics, it would be a fair argument; but all the world knows that it is produced by men and women of his own school of political a d philosophical thought. Madame Georges Sand and Paul de Kock were neither of them Catholics.

The Church condemns this pernicious literature, and does all that she can to oppose it and limit its evil effects. But its circulation is not confined to France. Any London bookseller can give us evidence that the French novel, in the form to which M. de Laveleye alludes, enjoys a wide popularity in Protestant England. Nor is Protestant Germany without reproach. The country where "The Sorrows of Werther" is still a favorite story, has litte to boast of in this respect; and as for America, there are journals of high standing, even in New York, which simply trade upon public vice in a way that even a Parisian journal would not venture to attempt. The charge of fostering immorality is a strange one to bring against the Catholic

Church. We do not say that a man is established in virtue by the mere fact of being a Catholic. But we do insist that the Catholic Church protects the virtue of her children by the most rigid precepts, and places before them the highest standard in the matter of morality and purity. It is the glory of the Catholic Church to have protected by the highest sanctions the indissoluble bond of marriage; it is the reproach of the Reformation that it has re-introduced divorce into Europe. There is no Catholic who does not know that many things are grevious sins, which only too many of those outside the pale of the Church look upon as pardonable follies. Then, as the guarantee and the perpetual vindicator of this exalted standard of morality, there is the Sacrament of Penance, which daily is the means of saving hundreds from the toils of sin. It is only natural to expect that all this would have the effect of placing the Catholic nations very high in the scale of comparative morality, and we shall show that this is the case. Paris is not a Catholic city, the cup of her iniquities is filled up from the whole world; the vice of Paris is made a reproach to Catholic France, which condemns and repudiates it; but it would not be difficult to show that Protestant Berlin has nothing to boast of in comparison with Paris, and Protestant London very little. The most immoral country in Europe is Sweden, the citadel of Lutheranism, where conversion to Catholicity is still forbidden by penal laws. Mr. Bayard Taylor's account of Stockholm places that city at once lowest in the rank of European capitals.

But this is a matter which can be tested very fairly by statistics. We shall pass over it very briefly, and only give a few of the figures at our command. We will restrict our survey entirely to our own islands, and take the data supplied by the Registrar-General's re-

turns of the proportions between legitimate and illegitimate births. In England, in 1873, the proportion was five-sixths illegitimate in every 100 registered births; in Scotland, the most Protestant of the three kingdoms, it was nine per cent.; in Catholic Ireland two-sevenths per cent. More than this, when we examine the returns for a series of years, we find that the highest percentage is always registered in Ulster, and that the disproportion between the returns of the North-east of Ireland and those of the rest of the country is remarkable. The purely Catholic districts of the West and South-west, that is to say, Connaught and the greater part of Munster, stand best in the scale. Take the following table of the percentage in all Ireland, and in the North-east, West, and South-west, from 1867 to 1871:

Divisions.	1867.	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.
All Ireland	3.3	3.1	2.9	2.7	2.7
North-east	5.7	5.5	5.3	5.3	5.2
West	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.0	1.0
South-west	2.0	2.1	1.7	1.7	1.6

M. de Laveleye compared the prosperity of Ulster with the misery of Connaught, and asked us to infer that Catholicity was a misfortune to the West of Ireland. Catholicism or Protestantism may have very little to do with the question of wealth, but certainly they have much bearing upon the question of morality. It matters little to a man hereafter whether he has been poor or rich here, but it is of great import to him to have been virtuous or vicious. In this point then,—and it is the most serious of all, Catholic Connaught stands far higher than Ulster. Ulster has, perhaps, more wealthy families, more comfortable houses; but the cabins of Connaught give shelter to a purer race. We see then, that in the scale of morality, Scotland stands lowest of any country in the United Kingdom,

England comes next, Ireland stands highest; and when we take separate districts of Ireland, it is precisely the most Protestant district that stands lowest, the most Catholic districts that stand highest.* It is hard for any one to resist the conclusion that the religion of the people is the cause of this. Assuredly *Digitus Dei hic est.*

We have seen already how weak is M. de Laveleye's line of argument, how uncertain are his premises, how fallacious is his reasoning. We do not charge him with wilfully deceiving and misleading his readers; but we do charge him with reckless carelessness, thoroughly unscientific method, and utter incompetency for the task he has undertaken. His book is not a "study of social economy." It is a prejudiced attack upon Catholicism, which does not bear a few minutes' serious examination. It has not even the merit of

* Bishop Spalding has collected the following interesting statistics of illegitimacy in various countries, which confirm the evidence derived from our own Registrar-General's returns:

Percentage of illegitimate births :—

Catholic Countries.		*Protestant Countries.*	
Sardinia (1828-37)	2.1	Norway (1855)	9.3
Spain (1859)	5.6	Sweden (1855)	9.5
Tuscany	5.	Protestant Prussia (1858)	9.3
Catholic portion of Prussia	6.1	Hanover (1855)	9.9
France (1858)	7.8	Denmark (1855)	11.5
		Iceland (1838-47)	14.
		Saxony (1858)	16.
		Wurtemburg (1858)	16.1

In Catholic France, as in Catholic Ireland, the most Catholic districts stand best in the statistics. Thus, while the rate for all France is 7.8 the rate for the rural districts is 4.2; for La Vendee, 2.2; for Brittany, 1.2. In England the rural districts stand lowest in the scale of morality. The same rule holds good in Germany, the Catholic districts are the purest. The statistics stand:—

Catholic. {Westphalia, 3.5. Rhineland, 3.3. *Protestant.* {Pomerania, Brandenberg, 10. to 12

The evidence is irresistible, the rule holds good throughout.

ordinary plausibility. We have shown that in the various points of material wealth and power, ability to colonize, education, and morality, the Catholic nations have nothing to fear from a comparison with Protestant peoples. That in the last particular, and the most important of all, they stand highest in the scale. And on all these points we have adduced only a portion of the evidence at our command. The field of inquiry is such a wide one that a volume would be required for its full treatment.

We must say in conclusion, that we agree with M. de Haulleville in anticipating a brilliant future for Catholicity, and for the Catholic nations. The Catholic revival in France and Italy; the conquests achieved by Catholicity in England, Germany, and America; the glorious work which is being done by Catholic missionaries alike in the East and the West; the wondrous unity, not only of doctrine but of feeling and sentiment, that pervades the whole Church; the devotion alike of pastors and peoples to Rome—all are unmistakable auguries for future good. Learning and literature flourish now as they have ever flourished, under the fostering care of the Church; Protestantism is everywhere dead or dying. Already its influence is gone. Men will soon be either infidels or Catholics. The Church has conquered Protestantism as she conquered Arianism; she will conquer infidelity and Liberalism as she conquered Paganism and Roman Cæsarism. She is the true civilizing power of the present as she was in the past. Even as we write, while Liberal philanthropists are talking of opening up Africa, the sons of the Church are not talking but working, and quietly and unostentatiously preparing the way for a systematic attempt to win the dark land of Central Africa to the cross of Jesus Christ. With all this before our eyes, we cannot share in any gloomy

forebodings for the future of Catholic peoples. We are approaching the close of one century, the opening of another. The nineteenth century has been an age of Liberalism, for which the eighteenth had prepared the way. Is there any reason why the twentieth century should not be an age of Catholicity, the ultimate result of the Pontificate of Pius IX.? We do not think there is. On the contrary, we believe that there is every reason why we should hope and pray for such an event. Even humanly speaking, it is more than possible, and he would be a daring man who would say that the hope is a baseless one.

NOTES BY HENRY BELLINGHAM, M. A.

The following notes are extracted from an English essay based on Baron de Haulleville's work, by Mr. Henry Bellingham, M. A., Barrister at Law :

PLANTATION OF ULSTER.

[*Note to Chapter II., page* 23.]

The natives were forcibly taken from their homes, deprived of their wealth, and treated with every indignity. The impious soldiery pursued the defenceless priests by day and night throughout the province, whilst they entered private houses at discretion and executed whom they pleased. The Bishop of Down and Connor was executed in Dublin by an English culprit under sentence of death, the only person who could be found to do the bloody deed.

The men whose lives the Irish people have always held more sacred than those of their ancient chiefs,

were daily slaughtered before their eyes, and cruelties were perpetrated that would have excited the indignation of the heathen.

ENGLAND'S CLAIMS IN AMERICA.

[*Note to Chapter IV., page* 123.]

England has frequently boasted that she is the mother-land of America, and yet she has little claim even to this. The majority of English-speaking emigrants that have flocked there in such large numbers during the last thirty or forty years are Irish; but to go farther back in history, the first European who went to America was Christopher Columbus, an Italian; the second, Americus Vespucci, a Portuguese; the third, Sebastian Cabot, a Spaniard; and yet these persons are reckoned the founders of America.

Was it not the Dutch who settled New York, and the Swedes Jersey? Was it not the Danes who settled Delaware, and the Huguenots South Carolina, the Spanish Florida, and the French Louisiana? The very capital in which Congress is held was presented by Carroll, an Irishman, and by careful examination it will be seen that from the lakes to the gulf, and from ocean to ocean, there is not ten per cent. of English blood in the veins of the people.

THE COLONY OF PIOPOLIS.

[*Note to Chapter IV., page* 124.]

We must not omit one instance of Catholic colonization that has occurred within the last few years. After the dispersion of the Papal Zouaves consequent on the seizure of Rome by the Italian Government, a portion of that body who were from Canada obtained lands in the forests of their native country, cleared the ground, and erected a small village which is rapidly rising into a town and bringing the adjacent territory into cultivation. This small colony has already prospered beyond

all expectation, and is ruled in the spirit of true Christianity, such as was witnessed in the early days of the Church. The village bears the name of Piopolis, in honor of the venerated Pontiff Pius IX.

PROTESTANT PERSECUTION OF CATHOLICS.

[*Note to Chapter V., page* 133.]

Persecution has not only been more generally practised by Protestants than by Catholics, but it has been more warmly defended and supported by the former than by the latter.

Bergier defies Protestants to mention a single town in which their predecessors, on becoming masters of it, tolerated a single Catholic.

Rousseau, who was educated a Protestant, says,* that "the Reformation was intolerant from its cradle, and its authors universally persecutors."

Bayle, a celebrated Calvinist, has published much the same thing.

The Huguenot minister, Jurieu, acknowledges the fact "that Geneva, Switzerland, the various principalities of Germany, England, Scotland, Sweden, and Denmark had all employed the power of the State to abolish Popery, and establish the Reformation."†

The moderate Melancthon wrote a book‡ in defence of religious persecution. Calvin was its great champion, and Beza, who succeeded him, wrote a folio work in defence of it.§

John Knox advocates it in all his writings.‖

Edwin Sandys, Bishop of London, published a book in vindication of it.¶

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* "*Lettres de la Mont.*"

† "*Tab. Lett.*," quoted by Bossuet, avertiss., p. 625,

‡ "*De Hæretecis puniendis a civili magistratu, etc.*, a Theod. Beza."

§ "*De Hæret. puniend.*," Beza.

‖ *See* Milner's "End of Religious Controversy," p. 439.

¶ Ger. Brandt, "Hist. Reform," abridg., vol. i, p. 234.

James I. was repeatedly urged by Parliament to enforce the laws against Catholics with great rigor, and Archbishop Abbot warned him against the sin of toleration. (*See* Rushworth's collection, vol. i. p. 144.)

Archbishop Usher and eleven Irish bishops presented an address to Charles I. against toleration, in which they declared that to give toleration to Papists was a grievous sin. (*See* Leland's "Hist. of Ireland," vol. ii. p. 482, and Neal's "Hist.," vol. ii. p. 469.)

The Presbyterian divines assembled at Sion College condemned as an error "the doctrine of toleration," under the abused term, as they expressed it, "of liberty of conscience."*

James II. was deposed by the English nation because he wished that all his subjects should enjoy the same privileges; and to the present day, the mere fact of a man's being a Catholic is sufficient to make his return to Parliament in any English country almost an impossibility.

Dr. Milner says, with great justice, that when Catholic States and princes persecuted Protestants, it was done in favor of an ancient religion, which had been established in their country perhaps a thousand or fifteen hundred years, and which had long preserved the peace, order, and morality of their respective subjects, and when at the same time they clearly saw that any attempt to alter this religion would unavoidably produce disorders and sanguinary contests among them.

Protestants, on the contrary, everywhere persecuted on behalf of new systems, in opposition to the established laws of the Church and of the respective States.

Nothing was ever more unfounded than the notion that Protestantism is favorable to freedom of conscience, or that Protestants were not persecutors.

Protestants not only persecuted Catholics, but they

* "History of Churches of England and Scotland," vol. iii.

went so far as to persecute each other to the death.

In Scotland the Reformation may be said to have begun by the assassination of Cardinal Beaton, to which Knox was a party, and to which Fox, in his "Acts and Monuments," says the murderers were instigated by the Spirit of God. "With such indecent haste," says Robertson, "did the very persons who had just escaped ecclesiastical tyranny proceed to imitate the example." (Robertson's "History of Scotland.") See also the answer of the Presbytery to the King and Council in 1596, concerning the Catholic Earls of Huntley, Erroll, etc., which declared that the civil power could not spare them, as they were guilty of idolatry, a crime punishable by death.

In France it is well known that wherever the Huguenots carried their victorious arms against their sovereign, they prohibited the exercise of the Catholic religion, slaughtered the priests, and burnt the churches and convents (Maimbourg, "Hist. Calvinism").

One of their own writers, Nicholas Froumanteau, confesses that in the single province of Dauphiny they killed 256 priests and 112 monks ("*Liv. de France*").

In these scenes the famous Baron des Adrets signalized his notions of Protestant civilization by forcing the Catholic prisoners to jump from the towers upon the pikes of his soldiers, and by compelling his own children to wash their hands in the blood of the Catholics.

In the Low Countries it was an ordinary thing for the Calvinists to assault the clergy in the discharge of their functions. Wherever Vandermeck and Sonoi, both of them lieutenants of the Prince of Orange, carried their arms, they uniformly put to death in cold blood all the priests and religious they could

lay hands on, as at Dort, Middlebourg, Delft, etc., ("*Hist. Ref. des Pays Bas*," by the Protestant minister, De Brandt).

Feller, a celebrated biographer, states that Vandermeck slaughtered more unoffending Catholics in the year 1752 than Alva executed Protestants during his whole government.

Monsieur Keroux, a Protestant writer in "*L'Abrégé de l'Histoire de la Hollande*," draws a frightful picture of the barbarities committed against the Catholic peasants of North Holland. Amongst the more illustrious foreign Protestants who suffered death by the violence of other Protestants may be mentioned the names of Servetus, Gentilis, Felix Mans, Rotman, and Barnevelt.

In England during the reign of Edward VI. many Protestant dissenters were condemned and burnt. (*See* Stow's "Annals.") During the reign of Elizabeth large numbers of persons suffered torture and death for their religious opinions. Full descriptions of those who were thus punished may be found in the works of Stow, Brandt, Collier, Neal, etc.

Under James I., Legat and Wrightman were publicly executed for Arianism, and under Charles I. the dissenters complained loudly of their sufferings, and particularly that four of their number—Leighton, Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick—were cropped of their ears and set in the pillory. (*See* Limborch's "History of Inquisition," Neal etc.)

When the dissenters got the upper hand they continued to put Catholics to death and treated the Episcopalians with great severity, at the same time appointing days of humiliation and fasting to beg God's pardon for not being more intolerant. (*See* Neal's "History of Puritans," "History of Churches of England and Scotland.")

The editor of De Laune's "Plea for Noncomformists" says that this writer was one of 8,000 Protestant dissenters who perished in prison in the single reign of Charles II., merely for dissenting from the Church of England as by law established. For the capital punishment and other sufferings of the Quakers our readers may refer to Penn's "Life of George Fox."

Protestant countries can lay no claim to be exempt from anarchy and revolution.

To begin with, neither Switzerland nor the United States of America can be considered harbors of refuge against them; the latter, having but lately emerged from the effects of a terrible civil war which may break out again at any moment, has suffered much from discontent amongst the masses, and was, but a short time ago, a prey to the horrors of bloodshed, owing to a general strike of railway laborers throughout the whole country.

The former is full of the elements of anarchy and discontent. The different Swiss cantons are perpetually at variance, although the common object of self-defence is able to silence many differences.

Since the Reformation, Switzerland has had its full share of insurrection and revolution, and at the present moment offers an example of tyrannical government and a discontented population.

Witness the arbitrary expulsion of Monsignor Mermillod, Vicar Apostolic of Geneva and Bishop of Hebron, in the year 1872; the forcible ejection of Catholic priests and people from their lawful churches, and the intrusion of State-appointed apostate clergy in the Jura,* in spite of repeated petitions against such pro-

* M. Loyson, an apostate French Carmelite, was installed by the civil authorities of Geneva as curé of the parish, in defiance of the wishes of the people, who at once withdrew from his ministrations. The sequel is amusing. M. Loyson became

ceedings. In Geneva a Government clique of Protestants, Jews, and atheists, have seized on all the ecclesiastical property, even that which had been originally given by private individuals,* and in Lausanne they have made several attempts to upset the whole machinery of ecclesiastical legislation.

Till near the close of the seventeenth century Switzerland was distracted by dissensions, and in the year 1703 the whole of the Catholic and Protestant cantons were openly arrayed against each other. From this period to the close of the eighteenth century internal discord paved the way for external aggression, and rendered it an easy prey to the great French Republic.

The Dutch have had many more periods of anarchy than their Belgian neighbors of the same race.

For the space of two centuries Holland was torn asunder by a spirit of faction, and was only saved from the absolutism of the House of Orange by the partial want of success of the Calvinists.

Had these latter been altogether triumphant, Holland would have shared the political fate of Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century the troubled state of the country induced the Dutch to seek foreign intervention, and their land was successively occupied by the Prussians, the French, and the English. In 1787 the Prussians were masters of

disgusted with the situation, his followers being composed of atheists and freethinkers, and threw up the post, declaring that he did so because those who had appointed him were neither liberals nor Catholics.

* The church of Notre Dame, built by the contributions of Catholics throughout the world, has been forcibly taken possession of by the Government, and handed over to the sect of Old Catholics. These latter are so few in number and so irreligious in practice that they make but little use of it, and it was recently lent for a musical entertainment.

Amsterdam, and openly espoused the cause of the House of Orange.

In 1785 a fellow-soldier of Bernadotte reduced the whole kingdom of Holland to the state of a department of the great French Republic.

Perpetual quarrels between Arminians and Calvinists headed by Arminius and Gomarus distracted the country.

The Protestants of North Germany until the year 1848 were (like the Assyrians or Babylonians) in a state of comparative tranquility because they were completely crushed under the heel of a civil despotism, the most consummate in the record of modern history.

The Prussian historian Leo declares that the natural result of the Reformation was the increase of power amongst the sovereigns and various rulers throughout Germany, and the destruction of the liberty of the lesser nobles and peasants.

The Thirty Years' War which devastated Germany was the distinct legacy of the Reformation, and the war of seven years arose from the designs and intrigues of the Prussian sovereigns. Germans against Germans, monarch against monarch, in a scramble for territory, and the people indifferent and with no interest at issue, was the spectacle presented in Northern Germany.

The sovereigns made conquests according to the number of their highly-disciplined troops,

War was carried on by them just as players at chess or draughts carry on warfare and calculate the powers and effect of each piece. The military system of the German governments engendered a spirit of interference not only with the laboring class of the community, but with all business and employment.

At the present moment Prussia is in a state of revo-

lutionary ferment, of which no one can foresee the result. Up to the year 1860 Socialism hardly existed in Germany; since then it has made rapid strides. In the year 1869 it had six journals that represented its principles; now it has fifty, in addition to almanacs, pamphlets and flying sheets, which are circulated by hundreds of thousands. Herr Most, a celebrated Socialist leader, declared not long ago at a public meeting* that church goers had dwindled into a small minority, and that Christianity was dying out.

The daily papers of the 15th and 16th of January, 1877, were loud in their disapproval of the successes of the Socialists and Democrats at the elections that had then taken place, and expressed their dread at the future that was before them.

From the year 1637 to the year 1720 Denmark was a prey to perpetual war, and from that time has been ground down under a gross form of despotism.

The revolution of 1660 destroyed the despotism of the nobles, but little improvement took place with regard to the great mass of the population.

In the year 1687 the wretched condition of the Danish peasantry was so alarming that a fifth part of the lands formerly cultivated by them was allowed to remain fallow.

In the eighteenth century whole villages disappeared in the abyss of misery, caused by the despotic character of the government.

Sweden cannot be cited as an example of the peace enjoyed by nations that have accepted the Reformation. For the last three hundred years she has been a prey to perpetual troubles and revolutions. The anarchy that Europe had witnessed in modern Spain is as nothing in comparison to the revolutions in Sweden which disposed of two kings, Sigismund and Gustavus

*See *Times*, March 22nd, 1878.

IV., and killed three more—Eric XIV., Charles XII., and Gustavus III.

The Swedish people carried the love of sedition to the extent of repudiating their own national dynasty, by handing over their country to a soldier of fortune, who rose from the ranks of the great French Revolution.

The Reformation benefited nobody except the nobility, who practically made royalty subservient to them.

In the year 1680 the States declared that they regarded it as an "absurdity" that the king should be obliged by the statutes to give them a hearing before finally deciding on questions of government. In 1693 the sovereign power was declared to be absolute, and Charles XII. caused the Diet to be told that he would send his boots to preside over its sittings.

After the murder of that amiable freethinker, Swedish liberty, *i. e.* the dominion of the nobles, was reestablished, and a series of revolutions followed in rapid succession, concluding with the murder of Gustavus. From that period Sweden became a mass of intrigue and political corruption. Finland was seized upon by Russia, and the kingdom of Sweden found no political rest save in the arms of a French general who deemed that a crown was well worth an abjuration.

We hear a great deal about the blessings which resulted to England from the liberty of the Reformation, but what the Reformation really did was to make England the scene of constantly recurring insurrections and civil wars from the "Pilgrimage of Grace" till the rebellion of 1745, the risings (always justifiable, except it be admitted that Protestant governments are never to be resisted) being always put down with the most ruthless ferocity.

The Reformation cost the Church of England at least half the population of the United Kingdom, and the country her most treasured possession, the United States of America. As a reformation of manners it proved the most complete failure. It was an outbreak of lawlessness in the first instance, and cruelty and tyranny in its latter stages.

Mr. Froude declares that five or six times as much blood was shed by Queen Elizabeth as by her sister Queen Mary, without so much provocation, as there was no insurrection against her as in the case of Queen Mary, and yet one is held out to the public as "Bloody Mary, and the other as "Good Queen Bess."

From Hallam's "Constitutional History," we quote the following passage:—

The Church of England, for more than 150 years after the Reformation, continued to be the servile handmaid of monarchy, and the steady enemy of public liberty. The divine right of kings, and the duty of passively obeying them and all their commands, were her favorite tenets. She held them firmly through times of oppression, persecution, and licentiousness; while law was trampled down, while judgment was perverted, while the people were eaten as though they were bread. Once and but once, for a moment and but for a moment, when her own dignity and property were touched, she forgot to practise the submission which she had taught." *

Again:—

By no artifice of ingenuity can the stigma of persecution, the worst blemish of the English Church be effaced or patched over. When Elizabeth put Ballard and Babington to death, she was not persecuting, nor should we have accused her Government of persecution for passing any law, however severe, against overt acts of sedition. But to argue that because a man is a Catholic, he must think it right to murder a heretical

* Macaulay's "Essays," p. 64.

sovereign, and that because he thinks it right, he will attempt to do it, and then to found on this conclusion a law for punishing him as if he had done it, is plain persecution. †

Mr. Lecky writes as follows:—‡

It would be scarcely possible to conceive a more infamous system of legal tyranny than that which in the eighteenth century crushed every class and almost every interest in Ireland. The Parliament had been deprived of every vestige of independence. The Irish judges might at any time be removed.

Manufacturing and commercial industry had been deliberately crushed for the benefit of English manufacturers, and the country was reduced to such a state of poverty that the Government was compelled to borrow £20,000 from a private individual to pay its troops.

At the same time a gigantic and ever-increasing pension-list was drawn up from the scanty resources of the nation, and was expended partly in corrupting its representatives and partly in rewarding foreigners. The mistresses of George I., the Queen Dowager of Prussia, sister of George II., and the Sardinian ambassador who negotiated the Peace of Paris, were all on the pension-lists.

The Catholics, excluded from almost every possibility of eminence, deprived of their natural leaders, and consigned by the legislature to utter ignorance, soon sank into the condition of broken and dispirited helots.

For the greater part of a century the main object of the legislature was to extirpate a religion by the encouragement of some of the worst, and the punishment of some of the best qualities of our nature.

Its rewards were reserved for the informer, for the hypocrite, for the undutiful son, or for the faithless wife. Its penalties were directed against religious constancy and the honest discharge of ecclesiastical duty.

It is impossible for any Irish Protestant whose mind

† *Ibid.*, p. 59.

‡ *See* "Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland," by Lecky, pp. 125, 127. Longmans and Green, 1871.

is not wholly perverted by religious bigotry, to look back without shame and indignation to the penal code. The annals of persecution contain many more sanguinary pages. They contain no instance of a series of laws more deliberately and ingeniously framed to debase their victims, to bribe them in every stage of their life to abandon their convictions, and to sow dissension and distrust within the family circle.

That the Irish Parliament in the last years of William, and in the reigns of his two successors, was one of the most persecuting legislative assemblies that ever sat, cannot reasonably be questioned.

The code of laws inaugurated in the reign of William III. is described by Burke as a code well digested and well disposed in all its parts, a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man.

It was framed by a small minority of the nation for the oppression of the majority, who remained faithful to the religion of their fathers. It was framed by men who boasted that their creed rested upon private judgment, and whose descendants are never weary of declaiming upon the intolerance of Popery, and was in all its parts so strictly a religious persecution that any Catholic might be exempted from its operation by simply forsaking his religion.

From Hallam's "Constitutional History" (third edition, vol. i. p. 130) we quote the following passage:—

Tolerance in religion, it is well known, so unanimously admitted at least verbally in the present century, was seldom considered practicable, much less a matter of right, during a period of the Reformation.

And again:—

It appears that at the end of the seventeenth century the Irish or Anglo-Irish Catholics could hardly possess above one-sixth or one-seventh of the kingdom. They were still formidable from their numbers and their sufferings, and the victorious party saw no security but in a system of oppression, contained in a series of laws

during the reigns of William and Anne, which have scarcely a parallel in European history.

No Papist was allowed to keep a school, or teach in any private houses, except the children of the family, and no Papist could be a guardian to any child, &c., &c., &c.

To have exterminated the Catholics by the sword, or expelled them like the Moriscoes of Spain, would have been little more repugnant to justice and humanity, but incomparably more politic.*

From Prendergast's "Cromwellian Settlement" (p. 16) we quote the following :—

If a Protestant married an Irishwoman, and did not conform to the English religion within one year of the marriage, he sank to the helot-like condition of his wife's people, and was deprived of *all rights*, he became *a constructive Papist*, and was regarded as worse than a born one.

Grattan, in one of his celebrated speeches, said :—

Civil and religious liberty depends upon political power ; the community that has no share directly or indirectly in political power has no security for its political liberty.

Mr. Freeman, in his work entitled "Growth of the English Constitution,"† writes as follows:

The old paths have in England ever been the paths of progress; the ancient custom has ever been to shrink from mere change for the sake of change, but fearlessly to change whenever change was needed. And many of the best changes of later times, many of the most wholesome improvements in our law and constitution, have been only the casting aside of innovations which crept in in modern and evil times. They have been the calling up again, in an altered garb, of principles as old as the days when we get our first sight of our forefathers in the German forests.

Changed as it is in all outward forms and circum-

* Hallam's "Constitutional History," vol. iii., p. 532.

† See "Growth of the English Constitution," by Freeman, pp. 20, 21. Macmillan, 1872.

stances, the England in which we live has, in its true life and spirit, far more in common with the England of the earliest times than it has with the England of days far nearer to our own. In many a wholesome act of modern legislation we have gone back, wittingly or unwittingly, to the earliest principle of our race. We have advanced by falling back on a more ancient state of things; we have reformed by calling to life again the institutions of earlier and ruder times, by setting ourselves free from the slavish subtleties of Norman lawyers, by casting aside as an accursed thing the innovations of Tudor tyranny and Stuart usurpation.

Again:

Our English constitution was never made in the sense in which the constitutions of many other countries have been made. There never was any moment when Englishmen drew out their political system in the shape of a formal document, whether as the carrying out of any abstract political theories, or as the imitation of the past or present system of any other nation.

Till the Charter was wrung from King John, men called for the laws of good King Edward. We have made changes from time to time, but they have been changes at once conservative and progressive. They have been the application of ancient principles to new circumstances; they have been the careful repairs of an ancient building, not the pulling down of an old building and the rearing up of a new.

Our national assembly has changed its name and its constitution, but its corporate identity has lived on unbroken. In France, on the other hand, institutions have been the work of abstract theory; they have been the creations for good or for evil of the minds of individual men. (Pp. 55, 64.)

And again:

There is, indeed, a wide difference between the political condition of England under Edward I. and the political condition of England in our own day, but the difference lies far more in the practical working of the constitution than in its outward form.

The changes have been many, but a large portion of those changes have not been formal enactments, but those silent changes whose gradual working has wrought out for us a conventional constitution existing alongside of our written law.

Speaking generally, and allowing for the important class of conventional understandings which have never been clothed with the form of written enactments, the main elements of the English constitution remain now as they were fixed then." (Pp. 86, 87.)

And again:

At last came the sixteenth century, the time of trial for many parliamentary institutions in many countries of Europe. Not a few assemblies which had once been as free as our own Parliament were, during that age, swept away or reduced to empty formalities.

Then it was that Charles V. and Philip II. overthrew the free constitutions of Castile and Aragon; then it was that the States-General of France met for the last time but one before their last meeting of all, on the eve of the great Revolution.

In England parliamentary institutions were not swept away, nor did Parliament sink into an empty form; but for a while our parliaments, like all our other institutions, became perverted into instruments of tyranny.

Every act which has restrained the arbitrary prerogative of the Crown, every act which has secured or increased either the powers of Parliament or the liberty of the subject, has been a return, sometimes to the letter, at all times to the spirit of our earliest law. (Pp. 98, 137.)

These examples may suffice for Protestant nations. From the sixteenth century the interior government of all the Catholic States has been bad, but on the whole the masses of the people have remained faithful to the order, discipline, and established authority of the Church. Preserved for 200 years from the dangers of the Reformation, they were at length carried away by the great revolutionary movement of 1789,

which was itself but the logical development of Protestantism.

Poland forms an exception, but we must not forget that she was coveted by two powerful potentates in the East and West, and that the exclamation of one of her magnates, "*Malo periculosam libertatem quam otiosum servitium*," was a cry of self-defence against her powerful enemies, who at last succeeded in their guilty and oft-renewed attempts. In the present century there is but one Protestant country that has resisted all the revolutionary aspirations of 1789, and that country is England, whose inhabitants have remained Christian, and whose government alone since the Cæsarism of the Renaissance has preserved the forms of the ancient Catholic governments of the Middle Ages.

Unquestionably she merits much praise, and Catholics owe her a debt of gratitude on this matter; for them England has remained a model and a consolation: a model, because she is the representative of ancient historical and Catholic institutions; a consolation, because they can point to her as a specimen of what all European countries would have been but for the excesses of the Renaissance, the bigotry of the sectarians in the sixteenth century, the insolence of the governments of Louis XIV., the Regency, and Louis XV., the corruption of the encyclopædists, the revolutionary theories of the eighteenth century, and the liberal ideas of the nineteenth century—none of which arose from Catholicism.

Let us examine the present condition of South America, Spain and France, for Italy (although a Catholic nation) is considered by our opponents to have entered their new path to salvation.

In South America, many States that had been governed by European powers during the eighteenth cen-

tury found themselves suddenly cut adrift from them, and for the space of forty years had to struggle in the throes of anarchy.

These States were Mexico, Venezuela, and the Argentine Republic, all of which were governed by revolutionists or men who had adopted the principles of 1789.

STATE REGULATION OF RELIGION ENTHRALS THE MIND.

[*Note to Chapter VI., page* 170]

The principle that the civil government or State is entitled to regulate the religious belief of a country has more of intellectual thraldom in it than the power of the Catholic Church could ever have exercised according to the belief of Protestants in the darkest ages, for it had no civil power joined to its religious power,

The Catholic Church was an independent, distinct, and often an opposing power in every country to the civil authority, a circumstance in the social economy of the Middle Ages to which Europe is indebted for her civilization and freedom.

When governments attempt to extend their power beyond the legitimate object for which government is established in society, and wish to embrace the intellectual, moral, and religious concerns, as well as the material interests of their subjects, they are obliged to adopt a middle course between the extreme of power they would usurp and the innate principle in the human mind of resistance to power over intellectual action.

This middle course, founded on no principle but the evasion of applying principle to action, has been the line of policy of most European statesmen during the century.

Whilst Europe was singing the praises of the

Prussian system of education, this same system was driving upwards of 600 Christians from the land by religious persecution, who went from Silesia to the wilds of America, in order that they might worship the Almighty after their own fashion, rather than at the dictation of their sovereign.

Whilst the condition of Prussia as regards education stood undoubtedly high, her moral state was so low that a sect called the Muckers, who openly taught the most disgusting practices and observances,* embraced hundreds of the nobility and clergy.

If to read, write and cipher be education, the Prussians are an educated people; but if to reason, judge, and act as an independent free agent in the religious, moral and social relations of man to his Creator and to his fellow-men be that exercise of the mental powers, which alone deserves the name of education, then are the Prussians utterly deficient.

The intellectual dependence of the people upon the government, the abject submission to the want of freedom, or free agency, in thoughts, words or acts, the religious thraldom of the people to forms which they despise, the want of influence, of religious and social principle in society, justify us in our statements.

MEDIÆVAL FAMILIARITY WITH THE SCRIPTURES.

[*Note to Chapter VI., page* 173.]

No one who has studied the literature of the Middle Ages can have failed to perceive the strongest evidence of the deep Biblical knowledge it contains. Maitland,† in his "Dark Ages," writes thus:

The writings of the Dark Ages are made of the Scriptures. I do not merely mean that the writers constantly quoted the Scriptures, and appealed to them as

* See Laing's "Notes of a Traveller."

† "The Dark Ages," by the Rev. S. R. Maitland, librarian to the Archbishop of Canterbury. P. 470.

authorities on all occasions; but I mean that they thought and spoke and wrote the thoughts and words and phrases of the Bible, and that they did this constantly and habitually as the natural mode of expressing themselves.

Further on the same writer adds :—

I cannot help suspecting that if Robertson had gone to the Archbishop of Seville in the seventh century, the Archbishop of Mayence in the ninth, or the Bishop of Chartres in the eleventh, for holy orders, he would have found the examination rather more than he expected. P. 25.

Again he says :—

A monk was expected to know the Psalter by heart. P. 338.

Further on he quotes the famous example of the sermon of the Bishop of Noyon in the seventh century, which Robertson and Mosheim quote as evidence of the barren theology of that age, and remarks :—

It seems to have been written as if the author had anticipated each and all of Mosheim's charges, and intended to furnish a pointed answer to every one. P. 113.

"In the eighth and ninth centuries," says Hallam ("Middle Ages," iii. 474), "when the Vulgate had ceased to be generally intelligible, ... translations were freely made into the vernacular languages."

CATHOLIC RESPECT FOR SCIENCE.

[*Note to Chapter VI., page* 178.]

The following are the words of the present Pontiff, Leo XIII., on this subject:

How grand and how full of majesty does man appear when he arrests the thunderbolt, ... summons the electric flash, ... how powerful when he takes possession of the force of steam. . . . . Is there not in man when he does these things some spark of

creative power? . . . . The Church views these things with joy.*

PROTESTANT PRUSSIAN MORALITY.

[*Note to Chapter VII., page* 187.]

The Evangelical Consistory assembled in full council, authorized Philip, the generous Elector of Hesse, on the strength of Melancthon's tolerant maxims, to seat two Electresses upon the throne at the same time.

The King of Prussia, Frederick William II., who had given his right hand to his queen, gave his left to Countess Ju ia Von Voss.

This second m rriage ceremony was performed on the 25th of May, 1787, in the chapel of the castle at Charlottenburg, by Zoellner, the chaplain of the royal family at the Court.

EVANGELICAL GERMAN IMMORALITY.

[*Note to Chapter VII., page* 188.]

Prince Pukler Muskau† states in one of his publications that the character of the Prussians for honesty stands far lower than that of any other of the German populations, and as a Prussian he would scarcely come to such a conclusion unless it were generally believed in Germany.

Laing says:

It is an undeniable fact that the Prussians are in a remarkably demoralized condition in those branches of moral conduct which cannot be taught in schools, and are not taught by the parents, because parental tuition is broken in upon by the interference of the Government. Of all the virtues that which the domestic family education of both the sexes most obviously influences, that which marks more clearly than any

* *See* Lenten Pastoral for 1877, by Cardinal Pecci, now Pope Leo XIII., entitled "The Church and Civilization.

† "*Südöstlicher Bildersaal*," 3 vols., 1844.

other the moral condition of a society, the home state of moral and religious principles, the efficiency of those principles in it, and the amount of that moral restraint upon passions and impulses which it is the object of education and knowledge to obtain, is undoubtedly female chastity.

And yet I think no traveller or no Prussian will say that this index-virtue of the moral condition of a people is not lower in Prussia than in almost any other part of Europe.

It is no uncommon event in the family of a respectable tradesman in Berlin to find upon his breakfast-table a little baby of which he has no doubt at all about the maternal grandfather.

Such accidents are only regarded as youthful indiscretions, and not as disgraces, affecting as with us the respectability and happiness of many a generation."*

All the social errors of France are to be found in Prussia, though possibly not visibly apparent to the public.

The statistics recently published (1876) by the Committee of the high Evangelical Consistory on the relative proportion of legitimate to illegitimate births are as follows in the Evangelical parishes of the various districts :

Hohenzollern	2.50	per cent.
Westphalia	2.65	"
Rhine Provinces	2.79	"
Posen	6.77	"
Prussian Saxony	9.12	"
Brandenbourg (except Berlin)	9.16	"
Prussia Proper	9.58	"
Pomerania	9.95	"
Silesia	10.15	"
Berlin	12.91	"

The Evangelical Church of Prussia is thus shown by her own confession to be losing her moral and relig-

* Laing's "Notes of a Traveller," p. 167.

ious ascendency over the minds of the great mass of the population.

IRISH CATHOLIC MORALITY.

[*Note to Chapter VII., page* 190.]

A few years ago a distinguished Protestant writer published a work entitled "Memorandums made in Ireland in the Autumn of 1852," in the course of which he bears frequent and ungrudging testimony to the influence of the confessional as an agent of purity. The writer was Dr. Forbes, one of her Majesty's physicians. We transcribe some passages from his work which we find quoted in the April number of the *Dublin Review*, pp. 437-8:

"At any rate," says Dr. Forbes, "the result of my inquiries is, that whether right or wrong in a theological or rational point of view, this instrument of confession is, among the Irish of the humbler classes, a direct preservative against certain forms of immorality, at least" (vol. ii., p. 81). "Among other charges preferred against confession in Ireland and elsewhere is the facility it affords for corrupting the female mind, and of its actually leading to such corruption. So far from such corruption resulting from the confessional, it is the general belief in Ireland, a belief expressed to me by many trustworthy men in all parts of the country, both by Protestants as well as Catholics, that the singular purity of female life among the lower classes there is in a considerable degree dependant on this very circumstance" (p. 83). "With a view of testing as far as was practicable the truth of the theory respecting the influence of confession on this branch of morals, I have obtained through the courtesy of the Poor Law Commissioners a return of the number of legitimate and illegitimate children in the workhouses of each of the four provinces of Ireland on a particular day, viz., 27th November, 1852.

It is curious to mark how strikingly the results there conveyed correspond with the confession theory; the proportion of illegitimate children coinciding almost

exactly with the relative proportions of the two religions in each province; *being large where the Protestant element is large, and small where it is small.*" &c., &c.. (p. 345).

While writing on this subject, we may be allowed to quote the testimony of another Protestant writer, Mr. William Gilbert, who, in an article published in *Christian Work*, in May, 1864, states that—

"While under the guidance of their priests, Irish women as a class enjoy, and with justice, a reputation for respectability of conduct, unsurpassed, if equalled, by any women in the world."

In Ireland cases of infanticide and baby-farming are almost unknown, whilst in England and Scotland scarcely a day passes by without the papers referring to two or three such occurrences.

The facts we have adduced in these pages are amply sufficient to demonstrate the fallacy of the chain of arguments used by our opponents; but before quitting the subject we will quote the illegitimate births in the poor-houses of the British Isles, as given by Dr. Forbes:

Ireland	1	illegitimate birth	to	16·47	legitimate.
England	1	"	to	1·49	"
Wales	1	"	to	0·46	"

A striking testimong of the truth of our remarks has recently been witnessed. Not long ago an assertion of immorality was made in an English newspaper* celebrated for its defence of Evangelical truth, against Irishwomen in general, and the Irish Church in particular, in the following words:

"The much vaunted chastity of Irish girls is a myth. In the rural districts of Ireland the priest is the seducer of the parish, and the early improvident mar-

* *The Rock*, a Church of England family newspaper, Oct. 5, 1877.

riages of the young people are encouraged by him to conceal his immorality. There is not and cannot be chastity where Popery reigns."

These observations drew forth from Lord Oranmore a reply which we give *in extenso*:

"SIR—A letter appears in your number of the 5th instant headed, 'Chastity of Irish Girls.' I believe there can be no more uncompromising Protestant, no one more convinced of the evils of the Roman Catholic system than I am. I have taken the *Rock* since it was published, and admire its straightforward advocacy of Protestant principles, and therefore I the more regret that by some oversight a paragraph so calumnious and untrue should find place in its columns. I have spent much of my life in a Roman Catholic part of Ireland, and know well not only that Irish girls are generally chaste, but that it is quite an exception that Irish priests are (in this sense) immoral men; and yet this paragraph attributes to the whole body adultery with malice aforethought and prepense. The admission of such a paragraph into your journal cannot but bring discredit on the good cause your journal so ably supports. ORANMORE.

Castle MacGarrett,
Co. Mayo."

Such testimony as this in our favor, from one of our strongest opponents, ought to convince every reasonable man of the truth of our previous assertion with reference to the morality of the Irish, even should he refuse to believe in the morality of the great mass of Catholics.

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

[*Note to Chapter VII., page* 209.]

England, under Elizabeth, furnishes a most striking example of the inauguration of liberty by the Protestant Reformation. In this reign not only the episcopal office, but also ecclesiastical doctrine was subjected to the will of the sovereign.

Hallam* writes thus of the Anglican Church in 1566 : "The novel theory of ecclesiastical authority resolved all its spiritual as well as temporal powers into the royal supremacy," a statement which is confirmed by English lawyers. Blackstone, for instance, says : "The authority heretofore exercised by the Pope is now annexed to the Crown by the statutes of Henry VIII., Edward and Elizabeth."†

The Anglican Church is in complete subjection to the State. Such are the words of the leading ecclesiastical papers in England of the present day—words which have been amply verified by recent legislation. The "Public Worship Regulation Act" is an example of this, an Act hurried through by a Parliament composed of men of every shade of belief, in one session, and then forced upon a body of clergy who were certainly not in favor of it. It is worthy of notice also, that Convocation, which may in a certain sense be considered as the mouthpiece of the Anglican clergy, was not even consulted on the matter.

The tolerant legislation for Ireland is so well known that in a short work like the present it is unnecessary to dwell much on it, but for the benefit of those who are under the delusion that Protestantism produces civil liberty we will quote a few of the penal laws, which prove the fact that children were torn away from their parents' protection, priests were hung or exiled, and those who refused to conform to the wishes of the British government were made serfs in their own land. In England for three hundred years Catholics were hunted like wild beasts, and the punishment of death was inflicted on a priest for saying the Mass.

* Hallam's "Constitutional History," vol. i. p. 100.

† Blackstone's "Commentaries," vol. iii. p. 67.

In the year 1695 the following laws were enacted:—

1. The Catholic Peers were deprived of their right to sit in Parliament.

2. Catholic gentlemen were forbidden to be elected as members of Parliament.

3. Catholics were denied the liberty of voting, and were excluded from all offices of trust and all remunerative employment.

4. They were fined £60 a month for absence from Protestant worship.

5. They were forbidden to travel five miles from their houses, to keep arms, to maintain suits at law, or to be guardians or executors.

6. Any four justices of the peace could, without further trial, banish any man for life if he refused to attend the Protestant service.

7. Any two justices of the peace could call any man over sixteen before them, and if he refused to abjure the Catholic religion, could bestow his property on the next of kin.

8. No Catholic could employ a Catholic schoolmaster to educate his children; and if he sent his child abroad for education he was subject to a fine of £100, and the child could not inherit any property in England or Ireland.

9. Any Catholic priest who came to the country might be hanged.

10. Any Protestant suspecting any other Protestant of holding property in trust for a Catholic might file a bill against the suspected trustee and take the estate from him.

11. Any Protestant seeing a Catholic tenant-at-will on a farm which, in his opinion, yielded one-third more than the yearly rent, might enter on that farm, and, by simply swearing to the fact, take possession.

12. Any Protestant might take away the horse of a

Catholic, no matter how valuable, by simply paying him £5.

13. Horses and wagons belonging to Catholics were in all cases to be seized for the use of the Militia.

14. Any Catholic gentleman's child who became a Protestant could at once take possession of his father's property.

The 13th of Charles II,, commonly called "The Corporation Act," excluded Catholics from offices in cities and corporations.

The 25th Charles II., commonly called "The Test Act," excluded them from all civil and military offices.

The 30th Charles II. prevented them from taking part in the legislation of the country.

An Act of William and Mary prevented the use of the Parliamentary franchise.

The horrors of the penal code were slightly relaxed in 1778, when American agitation and British fear permitted Catholics to hold property on leases for lives, but still the vast majority of the nation was excluded from the franchises, offices, and honors of the State, not on account of any moral or political delinquency, but merely on account of its religion. The whole history of the persecutions which Catholics have endured at the hands of Protestants of every denomination is one of the most curious phases of human perversity that the philosopher can find to study.

The Rev. Dr. Leland, a Protestant minister, writes as follows* on the plantation of Ulster, which James I. and his successor not only devised, but carried into effect:

They obtained commissions of inquiry into defective titles and grants of concealed lands and rents belonging to the Crown, the great benefit of which was to accrue to the projector, whilst the King was contented

* Leland, book iv. chap. 8.

with an inconsiderable proportion of the concealment, or a small advance of rent.

Discoverers were everywhere busily employed in finding out flaws in men's titles to their estates. The old pipe-rolls were searched to find the original rents with which they had been charged, the patent rolls in the Tower of London were ransacked for the ancient grants, no means of industry or devices of craft were left untried to force the possessors to accept of new grants at an advanced rent. In general men were either conscious of defects in their titles, or alarmed at the trouble and expense of a contest with the Crown, or fearful of the issue of such a contest at a time and in a country where the prerogative was highly strained and strenuously supported by the judges. There are not wanting proofs of the most iniquitous practices of hardened cruelty, of vile perjury, and scandalous subornation, employed to despoil the fair and unoffending proprietor of his inheritance.

Unheard-of confiscations were made in the northern parts, upon grounds of plots and conspiracies never proved upon their supposed authors. The original scheme of depopulation was never lost sight of, and a regular series of operations was carried on by special commissions and inquisitions, first under pretence of tenures and then of titles in the Crown, until the original inhabitants were almost completely exterminated. Parliament passed a law vesting the entire land of six counties in the Crown, the property of Irishmen, and the King immediately distributed upwards of 385,000 acres to his followers.* There were three divisions made of the spoils—first, to English and Scotch, who were to plant their portions of territory with English and Scotch tenants; secondly, to servitors in Ireland—that is, to persons employed under the Government, who might take English or Irish tenants at their choice; thirdly, to the natives of those

* Leland, book iv., chap. 8.

counties, who were to be freeholders. Catholics and persons of Irish descent, who were known by the name of "mere Irish," were altogether excluded from this part of the country.

Such was the Plantation of Ulster, and, to show the spirit in which it was made, we give the following "Articles," extracted from the orders and conditions of the Plantation of Ulster:

(7.) "The said undertakers, their heirs and assigns, shall not alien or demise their portions, or any part thereof to the mere Irish, or to such persons as will not take the oath which the said undertakers are bound to take by the said article, and to that end a proviso shall be inserted in the letters patent."

(8.) "The said undertakers shall not alien their portions during five years next after the date of their letters patent, but in this manner, viz., one third part in fee farm, &c. But after the said five years they shall be at liberty to alien to all persons except the mere Irish." (Harris's "Hibernica," p. 66.)

The documents here cited give but a faint idea of the extreme misery created by this plantation. The administration of the law was quite consistent with the temper of the times, and the Protestant Bishop Burnet does not hesitate to denounce the partiality and injustice that were exhibited.*

Scotland furnishes us with an example of a country entirely given up to the spirit of intolerance. Lord Clarendon, speaking of the Scotch in 1650, says: "Their whole religion consists in hatred of Popery." Few "apostles of tolerance" pushed a hatred of truth to such a pitch as John Knox, who declared that it rightly appertained to the civil power to regulate everything connected with religion. He issued a warrant of death against anyone who should celebrate the holy sacrifice of the Mass twice. An ecclesiastical

* Bishop Burnet's "Life of Bishop Bedell."

tyranny was established under his direction, of which it is now hardly possible to form a conception. In Chambers' "Domestic Annals" we find the statement that the private life of each individual was subjected to investigation like that exercised in the East.

The despotism exercised by the ruling authorities in Scotland exceeded that in Geneva, the birthplace of Calvinism and centre of revolutionary intrigue.

In 1713, Parliament, aided by the Crown, compelled the Scotch Calvinists to tolerate the introduction of an Episcopal Church. The year 1735 marks the first approach of any kind of liberty in Scotland, and then for the first time the poor Highlanders, who had remained steadfast to the Catholic Church, obtained permission to come down from their mountainous abodes in order to practise the religion of their ancestors, and to teach England the spiritual power of the faith of Edward the Confessor.

NOTES FROM AMERICAN SOURCES.

The American Centennial celebration naturally brought up the discussion of many of the questions raised in this work of Baron de Haulleville. At the Philadelphia exposition American Protestants keenly contrasted the displays made by the Protestant and Catholic nations and while in many cases they were astonished and disappointed to find that the Protestant empire of Germany was so far inferior to the Catholic nations, not merely of Europe, but of South America, there were others who abundantly and candidly testified to Catholic superiority. We make a few extracts

from Protestant newspapers to show this. But before doing so, we extract a terse, statement of the whole argument, from a Catholic Centennial address delivered in New Orleans by Mr. Thomas Semmes, on the thirtieth anniversary of Pio Nono:

"I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberty; and I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution, or the important assistance which they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed."

What I have just read is an extract from the response of General Washington to an address of the Roman Catholics of America on his accession to the Presidency. That address was only signed by five persons, as follows: "In behalf of the Roman Catholic clergy—J. Carroll." "In behalf of the Roman Catholic laity—Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, Daniel Carroll, Thomas Fitzsimmons, Dominick Lynch." In 1784 the Rev, Dr. Carroll was appointed Superior of all the Catholic clergy in the United States. It was not until after the Constitution of the United States had been adopted and the Government established, that the Holy See issued the Papal bull appointing Baltimore as the episcopal city, and Dr. Carroll as the first Bishop of the United States. This bull is dated November 6th, 1789. (Mr. Semmes here read an extract from the bull, which want of space compels us to omit). There being no Bishop in the United States, Dr. Carroll sailed for Europe in the summer of 1790, and was consecrated Bishop of Baltimore August 15th of that year, by the Vicar Apostolic of London. Thus was the Catholic Church, at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, organized in the United States, with an episcopacy independent of all ecclesiastical authority, save that of the Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff.

The infant nation and the newly-organized Church started together in the race of development. The nation has become great and powerful; the Church has not merely followed in the footsteps of civilization and erected churches and schools in every valley and on every mountain top, but she has penetrated the wildest haunts of the savage in the execution of her Divine mission, to preach the Gospel to all men. When the Rev. Dr. Carroll was appointed Bishop of the United States, the Catholic population numbered about 40,000 of whom 16,000 were inhabitants of Maryland, and 7,000 resided in Pennsylvania. About thirty priests exercised the functions of the ministry. In this Centennial year, we have sixty-seven bishops, 5,000 priests, 6,500 churches, 1,700 parish schools, and 6,000,000 of population. Can it be said that a Church which manifests such immense progress and development in a free country, unaided by Government, struggling with poverty and innumerable adverse influences is effete and in a state of decadence, because of its want of adaptability to the civilization of this enlightened era? No proposition is more susceptible of demonstration, than that the Catholic Church, if left to itself, if not fettered by alliance with the State, or repressed by hostile secular powers, will thrive and grow, and keep pace with and promote literature, art, science, morals, the individuality of man, all that constitutes true civilization. This fact alone is the most unerring evidence that its teachings and its discipline are in harmony with man's nature and the dignity and independence of his intellect whatever to the contrary may be said by those who think, or profess to believe, that submission to divine authority is slavery.

It has been the fashion of the age to decry Catholicism as repressive of the energies of the people, and antagonistic to social and moral progress. For this

purpose comparisons are frequently instituted between nations that profess the Catholic faith and those which are non-Catholic. Until recently, no credit whatever was given the Catholic Church for the invaluable services rendered to civilization in constructing society after the downfall of the Roman Empire, and the protection of the people during the reign of violence and pillage which characterized the Middle Ages. But now scholars concur in the tribute paid to the Church by Lecky, in his History of Rationalism in Europe, vol. 2, p. 37, where he says: "By consolidating the heterogeneous and anarchical elements that succeeded the downfall of the Roman Empire: by infusing into Christendom the conception of a bond of unity, that is superior to the divisions of nationhood, and of a moral tie which is superior to force; by softening slavery into serfdom and preparing the way for the ultimate emancipation of labor, Catholicism laid the very foundation of modern civilization. Herself the most admirable of all organizations, there were formed beneath her influence a vast network of organizations—political, municipal and social—which supplied a large proportion of the materials of almost every modern structure." In another page the same author says: "That Church, which often seemed so haughty and overbearing in its dealings with kings and nobles, never failed to listen to the poor and to the oppressed, and for many centuries their protection was the foremost of all the objects of its policy." He then proceeds to show how the barbarians who overturned the empire despised learning and contemned labor, and how the Church, to destroy this idle life of pillage, organized an army of monks, who, with faith in Christ, believed in knowledge and work; how they revived the traditions of old Roman agriculture; and large tracts of France and Belgium were drained and planted by their hands;

how a monastery became the nucleus around which the inhabitants of the neighborhood clustered; how a town was thus gradually formed, stimulated by the industry of the monks; how, in order to elevate and dignify the work, the most eminent prelates did not disdain manual labor, as is related of Thomas á Becket, who was in the habit of laboring during harvest time in the fields with the monks at the monasteries which he visited. This Church, so admirably adapted to the wants of society in times past, it is said, is in these modern times not only a useless machine, but actually retards intellectual progress and hinders the development of civilization.

This word "civilization" has been in use about one hundred years, though Dr. Johnson would not allow of it; it is a very indefinite term, and conveys widely differing significations. Burke considered the essence of civilization to consist "in the spirit of religion and the spirit of a gentleman." Another writer tells us "civilization is nothing else but the knowledge and observance of natural laws." M. Guizot does not undertake in his lectures to give a definition of civilization. Mr. Buckle seems to restrict it to "the triumph of mind over external agents." Mr. John Stuart Mill says: "The word 'civilization' is a word of double meaning. We are accustomed to call a country civilized if we think it more improved, more eminent in the best characteristics of men and society, further advanced in the road to perfection, happier, nobler, wiser. But in another sense it stands for that kind of improvement only which distinguishes a wealthy and powerful nation from savages or barbarians." "The true test of civilization," says Emerson, "is not the census, nor the size of cities, nor the crops—no, but the kind of man the country turns out."

"The superstition," says Herbert Spencer, "that

good behavior is to be forthwith produced by lessons learned out of books, which was long ago statistically disproved, would, but for preconceptions, be utterly dissipated by observing to what a slight extent knowledge affects conduct—by observing that the honesty implied in the adulterations of tradesmen and manufacturers, in fraudulent bankruptcies, in bubble companies, in 'cooking' of railway accounts and financial prospectuses, differs only in form, and not in amount, from the dishonesty of the uneducated." There is no doubt that religion is a necessary element of true civilization, and the corruption of the ages comes out of the spread and prevalence of philosophical theories which ignore God and religion. According to these theories, the basis of all social and intellectual development is wealth, the whole edifice of the civilization of the present day rests upon an enlightened selfishness. The *Pall Mall Gazette* declared in 1869 that "it was impossible to reconcile any form of Christian theology with what we call civilization and progress."

Dr. Newman thus describes the principal opinions of the philosophers: "That moral and physical evil are nothing more than imperfections of a parallel nature; that the difference in gravity between the two is one of degree only, not of kind: that moral evil is merely the offspring of physical, and that as we remove the latter so we invariably remove the former; that there is a progress of the human race which tends to the annihilation of moral evil; that knowledge is virtue and vice is ignorance; that sin is a bugbear, not a reality; that the Creator does not punish except in the sense of correcting; that vengeance in Him would of necessity be vindictiveness; that all we know of Him, be it much or little, is through the laws of nature; that miracles are impossible; that prayer to Him is superstitious; that the fear of Him is unmanly;

that sorrow for sin is slavish and abject; that the only intelligent worship of Him is to act well our part in the world, and the only sensible repentance to do better in the future; that if we do our duties in this life we may take our chance for the next, and that it is of no use perplexing our minds about our future state, for it is all a matter of guess." It is generally agreed that the predominant materialism, by contracting the sphere of man, has dwindled and dwarfed man himself. Mr. Mill admits that the age is not favorable to the production of great men. In his dissertations he utters lamentations over "the decay of individual energy and the weakening of the influence of superior minds over the multitude." Lecky says the age is "mercenary, venal, unheroic:" that "it exhibits a decline in the spirit of self-sacrifice in the appreciation of the more poetical or religious aspect of man's nature." Mr. Carlyle thinks we have lost the true conception of human greatness; "that the great men of this age are lucky or unlucky gamblers, swollen big. The conception of man, as a mere weal h-producing animal, is probably the lowest which it is possible to entertain of him, and he has sunk to its level." Men of learning and profound reflection begin to doubt "whether it is possible for the existing frame-work of civil society to hold together without the principle of cohesion supplied by the truths which it has cast away."

The masses are daily increasing in intelligence; and as they increase in intelligence, so do they become less tolerant of the existing division of wealth, and more sceptical as to the rights of property. Capital is in the hands of a few, the many are condemned to lives of unceasing, monotonous toil. Their relations with their employers are strictly regulated by money payments, which represent but an insignificant portion of the results of their toil. Money, and the things which

money purchases, they see universally recognized as the summum bonum. One thing alone can reconcile them to their lot—faith in the teachings of Christianity, The sacrifice of enjoyments and the endurance of sufferings become rational only when compensating advantage can be expected. The religion of Jesus Christ alone holds out to them that compensating advantage. Victor Hugo has well said: "Give to the toiling masses, for whom this world is so evil, belief in a better world made for them, and they will be tranquil, they will be patient. Patience is born of hope." The civilization of our age has taken away this argument for resignation. It denies that belief in a better world, and enforces upon the people a system of education in which no word can be heard of that higher hope.

In this country we do not find from the statistical reports of our penitentiaries that the diffusion of intelligence alone suffices to arrest the commission of crime. In Pennsylvania, complete statistical reports are kept, and we find that the number of prisoners received into the penitentiary of that State, from 1850 to 1860 was 1,692, of whom fifteen per cent. were illiterate, fifteen per cent. able to read, and seventy per cent. knew how to read and write; from 1860 to 1870, 2,383 prisoners were received into the penitentiary, and of these seventeen per cent. were illiterate, twelve per cent. could read, and about seventy-one per cent. could read and write. Of the 627 convicts who were in the penitentiary during the year 1867, about sixty-two per cent., or five-eighths, had attended the public schools of the State, and twenty-five percent., or two-eighths, had gone to private institutions; and twelve per cent., or one-eighth, had never gone to school.

Dr. Laing, whose testimony will not be questioned, as he was an enlightened minister of the Church of

Scotland, thus speaks of the Prussian system of education and its results: "If the ultimate object of all education and knowledge be to raise man to the feeling of his own moral worth, to a sense of his own responsibility to his Creator, and to his conscience for every act, to the dignity of a reflecting, self-guiding, virtuous, religious member of society, then the educational system is a failure. It is only a training from childhood in the conventional discipline and submission of mind which the State exacts from its subjects. It is not a training or education which has raised, but which has lowered the human character. The social value or importance of the Prussian arrangements for diffusing national scholastic education has been evidently overrated, for now that the whole system has been in the fullest operation in society upon a whole generation, we see morals and religion in a more unsatisfactory state in this very country than in almost any other in the north of Europe, We see nowhere a people in a more abject political and civil condition, or with less free agency in their social economy. A national education, which gives a nation neither religion, nor morality, nor civil liberty, nor political liberty, is an education not worth having. If to read, write, cypher, or sing, be education, the Prussian subject is an educated man. If to reason, judge and act as an independent free agent in the religious, moral and social relations of man to his Creator and to his fellow-men, be the exercise of mental powers, which alone deserves the name of education, then is the Prussian subject a mere drum boy in the cultivation and use of all that regards the moral and intellectual endowments of man, compared to one of the uncultured population of a free country." I am now combating the idea that true civilization is dependent solely on the diffusion of intelligence; I by no means underrate the value of edu-

cation as an element of social and moral progress; and the Catholic Church has at all times and in all ages promoted, encouraged and established the institutions learning, and Œcumenical Councils have commanded the clergy to establish parochial schools for the free education of the poor.

Catholic countries compare favorably with others in their efforts to promote the education of the people. The school attendance, compared with the population, is in Austria as 1 to 10, in Belgium as 1 to 10-1-2, in Catholic Switzerland as 1 to 16, in England as 1 to 17, in Bavaria as 1 to 7. Austria, Bavaria, Belgium and Ireland have proportionately a larger school attendance than England. England and Wales, with a population of 22,712,000, of whom only half were registered, and not half of these attended with sufficient regularity to bring grants their schools. Ireland, with a population of 5,411,416, had on register 1,006,546, or nearly half as many as England and Wales, though her population is not a fourth of that of these two countries. Dr. Laing, speaking of Rome as it was under the Popes, says: "The statistical fact that Rome has above a hundred schools more than Berlin for a population a little more than half that of Berlin, puts to flight a world of humbug, about systems of national education, carried on by governments, and their moral effects on society. In Catholic Germany, in France, Italy, and even Spain, the education of the common people in reading, writing, arithmetic, music, manners and morals, is at least as generally diffused and as faithfully promoted by the Church body as in Scotlahd. It is by their own advance, and not by keeping back the advance of the people, the Papist priesthood of the present day seek to keep ahead of the intellectual progress of the community in Catholic lands; and they might, perhaps, retort to our Presbyterian clergy, and

ask if they, too, are in their countries at the head of the intellectual movements of the age. Education is in reality not only not repressed, but is encouraged by the Popish Church, and is a mighty instrument in its hands, and ably used."

If morality be the criterion of true civilization, it cannot be said that those countries in which the Catholic religion has prevailed will suffer by comparison with non-Catholic nations. The journals of the Statistical Society of London for the year 1860, 1862, 1865, and 1867 give the number of illegitimate births in the hundred as follows: 1828 to 1837, kingdom of Sardinia, 2.1; 1859, Spain, 5.6; 1853, Tuscany, 6; 1858, 7.4; 1858, France, 7.8; 1851, Austria, 9; 1865-6, Ireland, 3 8; Catholic Prussia, 5.1; 1859, Belgium, 7.4; 1856, Sicily.

Non-Catholic countries—1859, England and Wales, 6.5; 1855, Norway, 9.3; 1858, non-Catholic Prussia, 9.3; 1855, Sweden, 9.5; 1855, Hanover, 9.9; 1866, Scotland, 10.1; 1855, Denmark, 11.5; 1838 to 1847, Iceland, 14; 1858, Saxony, 16; 1857, Wurtemburg, 16.1. In Holland and Switzerland, where nearly half the population is Catholic, the proportion is as follows: 1859, Holland, 4.1; Switzerland, 6. It will be perceived that France stands higher than any non-Catholic country except England and Wales, but England and Wales are below other countries, and far below Ireland. In Scotland the number of illegitimate births in proportion to the population is three times greater than in Ireland, and in England Wales there are twice as many; and in non-Catholic Prussia the percentage is a third greater than in Catholic Prussia. Lecky, in speaking of Ireland, seems to complain of the chastity of its people. "Had the Irish peasants been less chaste," he says, "they would have been more prosperous. Had that fearful famine which, in the present

century, desolated the land, fallen upon a people who thought more of accumulating subsistence than of avoiding sin, multitudes might now be living who perished by literal starvation on the dreary hills of Limerick and Skibbereen."

There is not in all Europe a more thoroughly anti-Catholic country than Sweden. In 1838 Mr. Laing visited Sweden, and he declares that its people, although almost entirely rural, are at the very bottom of the scale of European morality. In 1836 one person out of every 112—women, infants, and sick all included—had been accused of crime, and one out of every 134 convicted and punished. In 1838 there were born in Stockholm 2,714 children, of whom 1,577 were legitimate, and 1,137 illegitimate. Drunkenness was more common there than in any other country in the world. Nearly 40,000,000 gallons of liquor were consumed in 1850 by a population of only 3,006,000, which gives thirteen gallons of intoxicating drink to every man, woman, and child in the kingdom. Compare the Swedish people with the pastoral population of Catholic Switzerland and the Tyrol.

Alison, in speaking of the Tyrolese, was forced to admit that the Catholic religion "yet preserved enough of the pure spirit of its divine origin to influence in a great measure the conduct of their private lives." In Scotland illegitimacy is more common in the country than in the towns and cities; in England, also, it is more prevalent in the rural districts than in the cities; whereas, in France, it is just the reverse. In the country districts of England we have the following rate: Nottingham, 8.9; York North Riding, 8.9; Salop, 9.8; Westmoreland, 9.7; Norfolk, 10.7; Cumberland, 11.4. In France—Rural districts, 4.2; La Vendee, 2.2; Brittany Cote d'Or, 1.2. Thus in the most Catholic rural districts of France there are only

one or two illegitimate births in the hundred. This is also true of Prussia, whose most thoroughly Catholic provinces are Westphalia and the Rhineland; in Westphalia the rate of illegitimacy is three and a half in every hundred births, and in the Rhineland only three and one-third; but in Pomerania and Brandenburg, both thoroughly non-Catholic, there are ten to twelve illegitimate births in the hundred. If we turn to Ireland, the rate for the whole island is 3.8 per cent.; the lowest proportion is in Connaught, ninete n-twentieths of whose people are Catholic; and the greatest is Ulster, half of whose population is non-Catholic. The *Scotsman*, a leading paper in Scotland, says in June, 1869: "The sum of the whole matter is that semi-Presbyterian and semi-Scotch Ulster is fully three times more immoral than wholly Irish Connaught, which corresponds with wonderful accuracy to the more general fact, that Scotland as a whole is three times more immoral than Ireland as a whole." I do not consider that material prosperity has any relation whatever to religion, and therefore the military power or the wealth of a nation cannot with justice be regarded as the result of the religion of its people.

Spain, when at the height of its power and grandeur, was more Catholic than she has been since her decline in the scale of nations. France has been great from the days of Charles Martel to the present hour, notwithstanding her defeat in the Prussian war. She has ever been foremost in the rank of civilized nations, and except from the short period from 1789 to 1815, her people have steadfastly adhered to the religion of their forefathers. While the Venetian Republic was most powerful, and into Venice the streams of commerce poured untold wealth, her Doge, her Council, and her people were staunch believers in the Catholic faith.

Holland in her greatest prosperity was non-Catholic. Her religion remains the same, although her fleets no longer command the ocean. It is, therefore, manifest that religion has but little, if any, influence on the more material development of nations, or their rise or decline in the scale of power and prosperity are to be attributed to other causes than dogmas of faith. The truth is, the Catholic Church alone, with its great spiritual organization, can check a materialism which erects the State as the Golden Calf to be adored, and can prevent the State, by absorbing the individual, from destroying civil and political liberty."

WHAT SPAIN SHOWED IN THE CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION.

That bitterly Protestant journal of New York, the *Times*, is constrained by the facts, wrote *The Catholic Review*, in September, 1876, to permit its correspondent in Philadelphia to bear this further testimony to the work of a Catholic nation which, according to the popular American notion, is "played out." The Centennial Exposition will teach the average American Protestant many things:

"Colonel Francisco Lopez Fabra, the chief Spanish Commissioner, has remained at his post during all the heats of summer with remarkable singleness of purpose. The Spanish certainly teach us a lesson of pure nobility in many ways. Their departments are fitted up as museums, and offer enormous contrasts to those of almost every other nation, which are fitted up like retail stores. They came here entirely from good will, without a thought of making money by the sale of their goods, for the men who sent them, in nine-tenths of the whole Spanish display, sent no price list. When

it became evident that there were many would-be purchasers, the Spanish, instead of taking advantage of the enthusiasm over their woolen fabrics and their damascened ware, placed upon them the most moderate prices. Their superb porous water coolers—"alcarazas"—were valued at forty-five, fifty, and sixty cents apiece; their lustred porcelain and their fine specimens of glassware in proportion. The experience of those who are desirous of buying various objects is that there are not a few nations who have no fixed price, and who ask three times what they are willing to take. And among those who are more conscientious the prices are exceedingly high, and when the duties are added to them they become absolutely prohibitory. There are very few countries whose objects are as cheap and whose methods are as honorable as the Spanish, and at the same time there is not one whose wares are so distinctly marked with the seal of nationality. Col. Fabra is undeniably greatly pleased at the appreciative reception which the Spanish display has met in America, and he has evinced this in many ways, but in nothing more nobly than in the manner in which the most expensive works on architecture and art, with volumes of exquisite etchings, and volumes of photographs of Spanish cathedrals of the grand Gothic type have been surrendered to the public hands. In the Spanish Government building, which the commission fondly call the House of the King, (for they entertain a personal regard for their young Alfonso, like the feeling the English have for their Queen) these valuable books are spread out upon comfortable counters for the convenience of the public. Col. Fabra was remonstrated with by zealous Philadelphians: 'Your beautiful books will be destroyed; put them under glass cases.' 'Not at all,' said Col. Fabra, 'they are here to be destroyed, if using them will do it. It will

be sufficient recompense to us if but one man out of all who turn over the leaves gets a new thought for his art or a new comprehension of Spain. And the more they are used the better will Spain be known. I should be ashamed to take them back to Spain clean and new and unused.' Now that was very noble, and was in accordance with the old idea of the Spanish hidalgo *pur sang*. Certainly all Spain's chivalry has not been laughed away by Cervantes.

Throughout the summer Col. Fabra and his assistants, Count Donadio, Alvaro de la Gandara, and Col. Marin, have remained, working away at the Spanish display, writing to Spain for new things and arranging them to the best advantage. The treasures of the Government building, or the House of the King, are so numerous that they demand the exclusive attention of a separate article. But, not satisfied with this display or with the numerous things that have already been added in other quarters, Col. Fabra wrote to Spain for photographic views of Los Palos, the port from which Columbus sailed for this land, and of the Convent of La Rabida, where he found refuge. These have just arrived and are about to be exhibited in the Main Building. They will be placed in a square frame, supported by a pedestal about five feet in height, and full descriptions in English text will be placed at the head of each photograph. The Spanish Commissioner was induced to do this because he found in America a great interest in all the things that concerned Columbus, whose life has been so pleasantly portrayed by Washington Irving as to make its details very well known to people of education. There was a world of kindly thoughtfulness in the act, which merits the heartiest appreciation at our hands, and it is entirely in keeping with the conduct of the Spanish Commission since they arrived in this country. The lovers of

fine etching will be surprised at the importance and value of the works which have been surrendered to the public mercy, and will estimate at its worth the noble generosity of the Spaniards. The works on architecture, though purely of Spanish origin, have a French paraphrase side by side with the Spanish text, so that those who desire to study them can do so if they possess either of these languages. The illustrations are of the first order and show a fine mastery over chromo-lithography. GAR."

SPAIN AND BRAZIL SURPRISING THE UNITED STATES.

We hear so much of the sleepiness, backwardness, and "effeteness" of Catholic nations, especially the Spanish races, said *The Catholic Review* in July 1876, that it is worth while to consider how they strike the visitors to the Centennial Exposition. We therefore make two long extracts from the Protestant New York *Tribune*:

SPAIN'S GREAT DISPLAY.

A SURPRISE TO ALL VISITORS—PUZZLED VISITORS.

[*From the Regular Correspondent of the New York Tribune.*]

"PHILADELPHIA, July 5.—There is nothing about the details of the Exhibition that is a greater surprise to most visitors than the part Spain takes in it. Her display in the Main Building behind her castellated structure, with all its allegorical and armorial decorations, would alone be a highly creditable representation of the Castilian monarchy. It is rich in the evidence of a varied and high developed manufacturing industry which few Americans imagined existed on the sleepy peninsula, and the multitude of wares and fabrics shown are doubly interesting on account of an

evident stamp of originality, either in form or ornamentation, that shows them to be something better than servile copies of the products of other nations. The wealth of natural products exhibited in the Spanish section of Agricultural Hall calls for almost as much admiration for the multitude of articles it contains and the intelligence and system that characterize their arrangement, as well as the liberal enterprise that has gathered them from all the provinces of the kingdom and from all colonial lands under Spanish rule.

With these two strikingly thorough and well-ordered displays Spain might have been not only content but proud of her accomplishments at the Fair; but she has just opened a third exhibit larger than either of the others. It is made in a handsome frame building erected at the cost of the Madrid Government on the slope of George's Hill, near the Japanese dwelling. I have not the dimensions of the structure, but I should say that it cannot be less than 150 feet long by 100 wide. Its construction was not begun until after the Exhibition opened, and went on rather slowly under the management of the officers and soldiers of the detachment of Royal engineers that came here under the orders of the Spanish commission. The façade of the building bears a sign with the word Espana, but this appears to be no guide to the majority of visitors, who enter the hall without knowing what country it belongs to. "If they mean Spain, why don't they say so?" said an old countryman to-day after he had learned by questioning the character of the building. Like thousands of other visitors, he did not know that many geograpical names are badly tortured in the process of transforming them into shape for English tongues to pronounce.

The exhibits in the hall are divided into three classes —military, educational, and products of the Philippine

Islands, the former occupying the centre and the two latter the sides of the hall. In the military section there are remarkably fine models illustrating systems of fortifications, and others representing barracks, fortified towns, bridges, harbors, ancient aqueducts. One of immense size shows the face of the country in which the Spanish troops operated during the African campaign of 1859--60, and their different encampments—the sea, the mountains, streams, roads, towns and cultivated fields all appearing in miniature. Breech-loading artillery, small arms of the Remington pattern, and of a device resembling the Springfield rifle, camp and hospital equipage, models of field and siege artillery trains, with well-modeled horses about a foot high attached, lay-figures of soldiers in uniform, fill the section. The military exhibit is larger than that made at the fair by any other foreign nation, and in completeness and excellence it has no competitor, except the Russian display in Machinery Hall.

The educational group contains a large collection of books of science, law, medicine, and general literature that is calculated to give rather an exaggerated idea of the intellectual activity of Spain. It is particularly rich in handsomely illustrated works and in editions of the Spanish classics. Of school books, furniture, and apparatus there is an obvious lack. Good photographs are shown by the artists of Madrid, Seville and Barcelona. A collection of plaster casts from the Alhambra furnishes material for the study of Moorish architecture; and there are plenty of drawings and photographs of modern buildings, public and private. The art schools show their work in numerous portfolios. The large Government maps hung on the walls show how carefully the country has been surveyed for military purposes, and are besides excellent specimens of the cartographic art.

The section devoted to the products of the Phillippines occupies about a quarter of the floor space of the building. Specimens of native woods in profusion, a variety of products in glass jars, stuffed animals and birds, models of water craft of various kinds, mats and cordage, and photographs of the aborigines are among the objects to be seen here. The importance of the islands to Spain is forcibly illustrated by the liberal space and prominent position assigned to their contributions.

BRAZIL.

[*From the Correspondent of the New York Tribune.*]

Americans coming into the Brazilian department quicken their steps and look about with a glow of friendly feeling. They are strangers that have suddenly proved kinsfolk, and given us, in this test-time, the most cordial brotherly recognition and help. A learned member of their commission put the case strongly the other day: "We are Americans, as you; we claim to be as free a people as you; the only difference is that, with our Emperor, we are not vexed with the turmoil of choosing a ruler once in four years." The truth is that visitors have heretofore done little to seduce us from our allegiance to democracy; but a King like Dom Pedro, who comes to the country to talk with its statesmen, savants, and poets, who looks into the workings of schools, newsboys' homes, manufactories, and asylums, that he may the better uplift and ennoble his own people, is a dangerous man in a republic. What the central and provincial Governments of Brazil under the sagacious head are doing to elevate the people is shown to us in the school exhibits under the direction of Dr. Philippe da Motta. No educational department in the Exhibition surpasses this in breadth of scope and accuracy of detail. The books, maps,

pictures, and cases of brilliant insects are all arranged, too, with an artistic sense of color and effect which hints that their director belongs to the tropics. The popular American idea that the lives of these tropical brethren of ours is a dreamy afternoon siesta, will receive a shock when we look into their public school system. The little Joses and Salomes in the cities have small leisure for dreams of any sort. From the age of five to twelve they are compelled to attend the primary schools. In the country, Brazil being so sparsely settled, education is compulsory in but part of the province, but the governments of all are zealous in urging it on their people. In these free primary schools the child is taught to read by the syllable mode, not by the individual letters. In schools of the first degree the little Brazilian is taught Christian doctrines, reading, writing, elementary notions of grammar, arithmetic, and a system of weights and measures. In the second grade he learns the history and doctrines of the Bible, elements of profane history, geography, especially of Brazil, of physical science, of natural history, geometry, land surveying, lineal drawing, music of both kinds, and gymnastics. Boys and girls are rigorously separated. Women are employed and preferred as teachers in these primary schools, receive the same salary as men, and offer more successful results as the proof of their efficiency. While there are many normal schools, the ranks of teachers are frequently recruited from the ordinary schools. A pupil receiving notes of distinction is permitted to act as assistant, thus qualifying himself for teacher. Having passed through the eight classes of these schools, he submits to an examination, and if he passes becomes an assistant teacher of the second year, with salary, a system more immediately practical than that of Normal schools. The copy-books, drawings and specimens of sewing

from these public schools are presented with more fairness than is usual in other exhibits of the same kind, as we have the bad with the good, and specimens yellow with age, dating back nearly twenty years, contrasted with those of last winter to show the improvement in the systems. The chirography is unusually fair. Whether these Brazilian girls will ever write for the press is problematic, but if they do it will be a day marked with a white stone for the printers. One, Luiga da Alvarenga's composition, I remember, the script of which would make a compositor's heart leap for joy. Absolute religious toleration is practised in the schools, as in every department of Brazil. Object teaching, by the aid of pictures, plastic models, and prepared animals, etc., is used; but the kindergarten is not known. One errand of the Commission here, indeed, is to secure competent lady teachers of Froebel's system, familiar with the Portuguese language, who will introduce it. Besides these public schools there are private institutions of every grade, from the primary to the lyceums, and the Imperial School of Dom Pedro II., in the capital. There are, too, religious seminaries, naval and military systems of schools for artisans and workmen, free night-schools in Rio de Janeiro, where more than 1,000 adults are taught, and numberless private classes established by wealthy planters for the benefit of their poorer neighbors or former slaves. Dr. da Motta has brought representations from the naval, military, and law schools, the academies of free art, the apparatus for teaching the blind and specimens of their work and that of their blind. There is also a superb and complete collection of the insects of Brazil, intended for presentation to one of our scientific institutions.

There is no doubt that the educational work which lies before Brazil is but fairly begun; her population

is scattered over one-fifth of the continent, and three-twelfths of it are savages or just emancipated slaves. But in her efforts there are shown an electric energy and a sound common sense which promise exceptional success. One proof of this is seen in the high salaries and respect paid to teachers, in the wise policy that a man must be relieved of anxiety concerning his family if you would have his best work. Another proof is the fact that of the twenty provinces four expend one-sixth of their annual revenue in schools, three one-fifth, six one-fourth, two one-third, and the remainder a large proportion. In addition to this is the aid from the central Government. In half of these provinces and in all the cities primary education is compulsory. The National Library, which contains over 120,000 volumes, to which every decently clothed person has free access, the National Museum, whose visitors on Sundays average 1,000, and numerous polytechnic schools and libraries, well established or springing into life in all of the provinces, testify to the vigor of her intellectual life. R. H. D.

PAPAL TESTIMONY.

EXTRACT FROM THE FIRST ENCYCLICAL OF LEO XIII. ON THE OBLIGATIONS OF CIVILIZATION TO THE CHURCH.

We know with certainty, Venerable Brethren, that civilization has no firm foundation unless it rests upon the eternal principles of truth and upon the unchangeable laws of right and justice; and unless true love binds the wills of men together, and harmonizes by its sweetness their mutual relations and duties to each other. Nor is there any one who can rightly deny that it is the Church which, by preaching the Gospel throughout the world, has carried the light of truth amongst nations who were brutalized and steeped in

foul superstition, and has lifted them up to know the Divine Creator of the world and to recognize their own wretchedness; that it is the Church which has removed the misery of slavery, and thereby restored to men the first dignity and nobility of their nature; the Church which, unfurling the standard of redemption in every region of the world, has introduced or developed sciences and arts, founded and sheltered works of the highest charity for the relief of every kind of sorrow, everywhere civilized the human race in its public and private life, rescued it from its misery, and brought it by every possible effort to a manner of life befitting the dignity and the hope of man. If any unprejudiced man would compare this age in which we live, all hostile as it is to religion and Christ's Church, with those most happy times in which the Church received a mother's honor from the world, most surely would he find that this age of ours, full of disturbance, and pulling all things down, is rushing by a straight and rapid road to its destruction; but that those days enjoyed excellent institutions, untroubled peace, wealth and prosperity, in the exact proportion in which the nations paid obedience to the direction and laws of the Church. If, however, those numberless benefits which we have now mentioned, as springing from the ministry and useful labors of the Church, are the true work and glory of civilization, then it is by no means the case that Christ's Church is a foe to civilization, or rejects it: rather may she claim, that to her by every title belongs the praise of being to civilization a fostering nurse and mother.

That kind of so-called civilization, however, which would be at variance with the doctrines and laws of holy Church, cannot be regarded as other than a mockery of true civilization, a mere name without a substance. A clear proof of this is afforded by those

nations on whom the light of the Gospel has not shone; in whose lives a certain color of civilization can be seen, but its solid and true benefits are not there. Certainly, that cannot be deemed the perfection of civilized life in which every lawful power is boldly contemned; nor is that to be counted liberty which holds shameful and wretched riot in the unbridled propagation of error, in the free satisfying of low desires, in unpunished deeds of shame and sin, and in tyranny over good men of every social rank. For since these things are full of error, since they distort and are out of harmony with our nature, they cannot certainly have power to perfect the family of man and make it prosperous, for "sin maketh nations miserable."* Nay, it cannot be but that these things, having corrupted men's minds and hearts, should by their own weight thrust down the nations into every wickedness, give insecurity to all that was rightly ordered, and so, sooner or later, drag on the State which was before settled and peaceful into uttermost destruction.

And if we look at the history of the Popes of Rome, what can be more unjust than to deny how much, how far above all others, the Roman Pontiffs have deserved from the whole of civilized society? Most certainly Our Predecessors, that they might provide for the good of the nations, never hesitated to take on themselves struggles of every kind, to go through severe labors, to expose themselves to rude difficulty: fixing their eyes on Heaven, they neither lowered that gaze before the threats of the wicked, nor suffered themselves to be drawn away from the straight path of duty by any unworthy yielding to flattery or promise. It was this Apostolic See which, when the old world fell to pieces, gathered and banded together the remnants of its order; this See was the friendly torch by which

* Prov. xiv. 34.

the light of Christian civilization shone forth; this the saving anchor amidst the fierce storms by which the human race was tossed; this the sacred bond of unity which, when nations were sundered in position and in character, still held them bound to one another; this, in fine, was the common centre from which were sought both teaching in religious faith, and guidance and advice in the affairs of peace. In a word, it is the glory of the Popes that with one consent they have thrown themselves before human society as a wall and tower of defence, lest it should slip back again into its former barbarism and superstition.

For such merits of Our Predecessors, that We may not record all, We would especially call in witness the times of St. Leo the Great, Alexander III., Innocent III., St. Pius V., Leo X., and other Pontiffs, by whose labor or guidance Italy came forth unhurt from the danger of utter destruction by barbarians; held uncorrupt her ancient Faith; and, amidst the darkness and wretchedness of an uncivilized age, cherished the light of the sciences and the splendor of the arts, bade them live, and preserved their life. Witness this City of Ours, Our fostering mother and the seat of the Pontiffs, which through them, to its great advantage, has not only become the strongly fortified citadel of the Faith, but has become moreover an asylum of the fine arts and the home of learning, so as to draw upon itself the admiring gaze of the whole world. And since the story of these magnificent benefits has been handed down in the records of history to the memory of man forever, it is easy to be seen that by no other means but the determined will of foes and unworthy slander could men have been beguiled, by word and writing thrust upon them, into believing that the Apostolic See is a hindrance to the civilization of the world and to the happiness of Italy.

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